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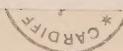
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THE DIARY OF JÖRG VON EHINGEN



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GEORG VON EHINGEN

THE DIARY
OF
JÖRG VON EHINGEN

TRANSLATED AND EDITED
BY
MALCOLM LETTS, F.S.A.



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P R E F A C E

THE manuscript of Jörg (or Georg) von Ehingen's diary is preserved in the Landesbibliothek at Stuttgart (*Historia 4to.* No. 141). It seems to be the only complete manuscript now in existence, and the nine portraits which give the diary its peculiar value are drawn in colour on parchment sheets at the end. I have described the manuscript in detail in my introduction. The diary was first printed at Augsburg by Dominic Custos in 1600, apparently from a manuscript in the possession of Raymund Fugger, with the nine portraits and one of the Emperor Frederick III, which does not appear in the Stuttgart manuscript, very indifferently engraved. The text also is faulty and incomplete. The diary was printed from the Stuttgart manuscript without the portraits, in vol. i of the publications of the Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart in 1842, and it is from this reprint, after comparison with the original manuscript, that my translation has been made. A Spanish translation of the diary by A. M. Fabié appeared in 1879. As far as I know, the portraits as a whole have never before been photographically reproduced.

Ehingen's orthography is most erratic. I have not attempted to follow it, but have given the kings and towns and countries mentioned the names by which they are now known. The spelling of the Ehingen family names is that used by Dr. Holzherr in his *Geschichte der Reichsfreiberren von Ehingen*, Stuttgart, 1884, a most valuable work based upon family chronicles, to which I am much indebted.

I desire to express my grateful thanks to Prof. Dr. Löffler of the Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, for advice and assistance; to Miss A. de Alberti, who helped me with the Spanish and Portuguese chronicles; to Miss L. Drucker and Miss Margaret Toynbee, and above all to Baron Hermann von Tessin, the present owner of the Ehingen castle at Kilchberg, near Tübingen, who received me most courteously, showed me all his treasures, and greatly facilitated my researches.

MALCOLM LETTS.

14 February 1929.

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INTRODUCTION

IT is not now easy to trace the beginnings of the noble Swabian family of Ehingen, but the ancestral seat seems to have been the Ehingerburg, a castle now ruined, which was situated on an eminence not far from Rottenburg-on-the-Neckar and about six miles or so from Tübingen. The old town of Ehingen across the river, which must have been associated in some way with the family, is now a suburb of Rottenburg. The name of Ehingen appears frequently in the early records of the district, and by the fifteenth century certain branches of the family were definitely attached as feudatories to the Counts of Hohenberg, whose castle, Altrotenburg, lay close at hand. When on the sale of the Countship of Hohenberg to Austria in 1381 the castle of Altrotenburg ceased to be the residence of the Counts, the Ehingerburg lost its importance, and the Ehingen family settled for the most part in the town of Rottenburg and in the neighbouring castle of Hohenentringen. As we shall see when we come to Jörg von Ehingen's diary, the Ehingerburg was still standing, although possibly not inhabited, in 1407, in which year it was destroyed.

By the middle of the fourteenth century the family had begun to make its influence felt not only in Swabia but throughout Germany. The Ehingens now appeared in every department of public life, as councillors, soldiers, courtiers, and churchmen; and as they became famous they acquired wealth. They owned numerous extensive estates and took a prominent place among the free nobility of Swabia. Burkard 'with the Tress' is the first of the Ehingens to be mentioned in the little family history with which Jörg von Ehingen's diary is prefaced, and with him the real fortunes of the house may be said to have been founded. He was born in 1348, and was sent by his father to the brilliant court of Duke Albert III, brother of Duke Rudolph IV, at Vienna, where he served as page and received his knighthood. A beautiful lady had once cut off a lock of her hair and presented it to the Duke, who had founded in her honour a knightly Order of the Tress, whose members wore a lock of hair as their emblem. Burkard was admitted into the Order in 1376, and bringing back the emblem

to Swabia, was thereafter known as 'with the Tress'. He was involved in the wars between Count Eberhard of Würtemberg, called the Quarrelsome, and the Swabian cities, and took part in the battle of Döffingen in 1388, when the cities were defeated by the Count. He was slain during a raid into Würtemberg by the wild Count Fritz, the Oettinger, in 1407, and was buried in the Moritzkirche in Ehingen, where his monument was formerly to be seen, a kneeling figure with his wife and coat of arms. Unfortunately the monument seems now to have disappeared, for when visiting Rottenburg in the Long Vacation of 1928 I could find no trace of it. It was during this raid that the Ehingerburg was destroyed.

Burkard 'with the Tress' left two sons, Wolf and Rudolf. Wolf served for many years at the court of Duke Ernest, the father of the Emperor Frederick III, at Vienna, and dying in 1424 without issue, his estates passed to his brother Rudolf. Rudolf now figures as the most important member of the Ehingen family, for he was the father of Jörg whose diary is the subject of this book. He was born in 1378, and served in his youth at several courts. He was for many years in Hungary in the train of Sigismund, King of the Romans, afterwards Holy Roman Emperor, and served also as Marshal to Sigismund's father-in-law, the powerful and unscrupulous Count of Cilly. He inherited from a cousin a share in the castle of Hohenentringen with its dependent villages, a few miles distant from Rottenburg, and married in 1417 Agnes, Truchsassin of Waldeck-Heimerdingen, who brought him further estates and bore him nineteen children, of whom only five reached maturity. Like his father, he was a faithful servant of the Counts of Würtemberg. His qualities of shrewdness and foresight were much valued by the Countess Henriette of Mömpelgard, the widow of Count Eberhard the Younger, who was ruling as guardian of her two infant sons, Ludwig and Ulrich. He fought with the Würtemberg armies at the siege of Hohenzollern and in the Hussite wars, and distinguished himself in every walk of life. In spite of his wealth and high offices he was content to reside in his part of the castle of Hohenentringen, where he dwelt unostentatiously, surrounded by his family and relations. There were then five families and a hundred children in residence at Hohenentringen, and it was said that when the men, women, and children set out for church

at Entringen, the leaders were already at the church door before the last of the band had left the castle gates. Hohenentringen to-day is a great place for excursions from Tübingen, a stone house with a tower and outer walls. Later in 1437 Rudolf purchased the beautiful village of Kilchberg, near Tübingen, with its castle, abbey, and estates, and after his mother's death he went into residence there. It was in this castle of Kilchberg, in the little chamber over the gate, that Jörg von Ehingen received from his father the instructions concerning his future which are so intimately recorded in the diary.

At the age of eighty-one Rudolf laid down his offices and employments in order to devote the remainder of his life to pious works. In the preface to the diary we have a charming picture of this shrewd but unworldly old man. We see him dividing up his possessions, making his will, remembering the poor, providing for his Jahrtag, and then riding off to pay a last visit to the grave of a very holy member of his family, the virgin Hailwigis, or Hayla, at Gösslingen, after which he retired to the peace and quiet of the Carthusian monastery at Güterstein (Urach), still, however, retaining sufficient interest in the world he had left to give his sons the benefit of his experience as a man of affairs. His life in the monastery, his conversations with his beloved son Jörg, and the manner of his death, are all described in the preface to the diary with a touch of sympathy and affection which endears us to father and son alike. The old man was buried at Entringen, and his gravestone, now on the outside of the church and unfortunately exposed to the weather, can still be seen with the Ehingen and Waldeck arms, the latter two crossed rakes, upon it.

Jörg, the author of the diary, was born at Hohenentringen, as one of the hundred children already mentioned, in 1428. As a youth he served Duke Sigismund of Tyrol, who in 1449 had married Eleanor, daughter of James I of Scotland, but the young man soon tired of the daily life at court, and with the assistance of his father he attached himself to Duke Albert of Austria, Duke of Carinthia, brother of the Emperor Frederick III, who kept splendid state at Rottenburg-on-the-Neckar. The young man's successful attempt, after consultation with his father, to obtain employment about the Duke's person is neat and amusing, and full of promise for the future. Jörg attended with his

master the celebrations at Prague on the occasion of the coronation of Ladislaus Posthumus as King of Bohemia, and it was here that he received his knighthood. His father could not dismiss from his memory the fact that he had never visited the Holy Sepulchre, and when some knights were setting out for Rhodes to fight the Turks, he sent Jörg with them, charging him, if God spared his life, to see Jerusalem and the holy places before his return. When Jörg reached Rhodes he found himself in the midst of warlike preparations, but there was no sign of the Turks, and after waiting for nearly a year he sailed for the Holy Land and spent fifteen days at Jerusalem. It was his intention to continue his journey to St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, but at Damascus he and his companion were captured by Arabs and were only released on payment of a ransom of thirty ducats. After this, as he says, he did not desire any further acquaintance with such people, and he sailed at once for Cyprus, where he was well received by King Janus III. He then returned to Venice and reached his father's home at Kilchberg in 1454 or 1455. He was then some twenty-six years of age.

Jörg now spent a year at court, but there was peace throughout all the countries of Christendom, and he saw little chance of advancing himself in his calling. He therefore decided to see the world. Armed with letters from the Emperor and King Ladislaus of Hungary, and attended by a herald to act as interpreter and a servant to look after the baggage, he set off with a companion for the French court at Bourges, where he arrived some time in 1456. The travellers were well received, but Charles VII was a solemn individual, somewhat advanced in years, and there was little in the way of knightly exercises to attract the visitors. While they were there, however, a messenger arrived from the King of Castile announcing that an attack was to be launched against the Moors in Granada, and Ehingen and his companion at once set off for Spain, visiting René of Anjou at Angers on the way. At Pamplona they spent two months at the court of John II of Navarre. This ambitious and unscrupulous monarch was then fighting with his son Charles of Viana for the possession of the crown, but time was found for hunting, dancing, feasting, and other courtly pastimes. Meanwhile news arrived that the proposed Moorish expedition had been abandoned, but that

Alfonso V of Portugal was preparing an African expedition, with intent to wipe out the shame of the terrible defeat at Tangier in 1437; and Ehingen and his companion hurried off to Lisbon. We get what is, I think, a glimpse of Ehingen at Burgos in the diary of Sebastian Ilsung of Augsburg, who had visited Charles of Viana's wife, Anna of Cleves, at Olite, and was then enjoying the hospitality of the Bishop of Burgos, who had supplied him with a German cook (see Appendix, p. 67). At Lisbon the travellers were received by the King, who made a great impression on Ehingen. So delightfully was he entertained, and such were the diversions, the feasting, jumping, fencing, and dancing, that the young man, usually somewhat restrained and aloof, becomes quite enthusiastic. He calls Alfonso the most Christian, the worthiest and the most righteous King he had ever seen, adding with an exclamation 'esz was guot da sin!' The ladies, too, were beautiful beyond description.

The two travellers now sailed with the Portuguese troops for Ceuta, which had been in Portuguese hands since 1415, and Ehingen gives us a vivid account of the defence of the place against the infidels who had attacked it in large numbers. There does not seem to have been any decisive engagement, but for seven weeks the young knight and his companion had their fill of fighting. There were skirmishes, sieges, actions, and night-attacks without end, and finally Jörg was selected as the Christian champion to engage in single combat with and to slay a mighty infidel, a desperate encounter upon which he embarked without the slightest hesitation and which he describes with great modesty. A search through the printed Portuguese records has disclosed no reference to this encounter, but single combats were at that time by no means uncommon, and it is possible that official notice was not taken of it. It is interesting to remark, however, that when another German, the Nuremberg doctor Hieronymus Münzer, was at Lisbon some thirty-five years afterwards, people were still talking about the exploit, and he was able from what he heard to set down in his diary the details of the combat and the names of Ehingen and his companion. The extract is given at p. 35, note 1.

The two travellers now returned to Lisbon, where they were once more treated with great honour, and visits were paid also to the

courts of the King's brother and uncle. News had come that Henry of Castile was again preparing for his expedition against Granada, which had been delayed by the plague, and some time in 1457 Ehingen and his companion set off to Spain and offered their services to the King. A huge army had been mobilized, but Granada was found to be impregnable, and the troops had to be content with devastating the country and capturing some minor castles and fortresses. During storming operations, on one occasion, Ehingen was wounded in the shin, an injury from which he never completely recovered. He returned to Castile and was invested with the Order of the Escama and other decorations, after which he returned with his companion to the court of Alfonso of Portugal. The diary is here disappointingly brief. We learn only that the travellers (apparently in the early months of 1458) made their way back to France, where they took ship for England. It looks as if there can have been little in the London of Henry VI to impress visitors, for Ehingen remembers only that the King gave him his Order, and passes on at once to Scotland to the court of James II, whose sister, the wife of Duke Sigismund, Ehingen had served as a page. The young knight was very cordially welcomed at the Scotch court and was entertained with hunting, feasting, and dancing, and finally when the time came for him to depart he carried with him presents of money, jewels, two tents, satins, and a stallion, while his attendants received gifts of money. Here the diary ends without any indication of the date of his return, but apparently Ehingen was back in his own country in 1459. He was then thirty-one years of age, and his journeys, not counting the visit to the Holy Land, had occupied some four years. From the letter (see p. 67) addressed by King Alfonso of Portugal to his aunt, who had married Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, it would seem that the travellers intended visiting Flanders, but there is nothing to show that they did so.

Jörg von Ehingen's later life can only be briefly described. To the surprise of his contemporaries he did not take a wife from among the nobility, but married a weaver's daughter, who brought him a prosperous sheep-farm which was a constant joy to him in his old age. His wife died early, and in 1467 Ehingen married again, his second wife being Anna von Richtenberg, the daughter of a nobleman.

Jörg had followed the family tradition in entering the service of the House of Würtemberg, and for nearly fifty years, in peace and war, he occupied the highest offices at court. He was chamberlain to Count, afterwards Duke Eberhard im Bart, who after a somewhat stormy youth was to become one of the best rulers that Würtemberg had ever known, and in 1462 he became chief bailiff of Tübingen and governor of the castle. Later he gave up his employments and retired to his beloved castle of Kilchberg. He died peacefully in 1508 at the age of eighty, deeply mourned throughout the whole of Swabia as a man who had devoted his life unsparingly to the service of his country. He left eight sons and six daughters.

We have one clue as to the time when Jörg compiled his diary, for he tells us, after the description of the campaign in Granada, that the wound he received there broke out after his return to Swabia, and that he retained in his old age a hole in his shin and a flux (p. 38). Apart from this the diary bears every evidence of having been written many years after the events recorded, for the dates are confused and the itinerary is by no means clear. It is nevertheless an engaging narrative, and, when we come to the African experiences, quite exciting. We can form some idea of the writer himself from two portraits which have been preserved, one hanging on the staircase in Schloss Kilchberg, the other a damaged panel in the picture gallery at Stuttgart, which is mentioned later. The Stuttgart portrait is contemporary, but the Kilchberg portrait presents some difficulties. In appearance it seems to be a much later production, and it is dated with the years of Ehingen's birth and death. The armour, whatever its period, is certainly not medieval, and the treatment of hands and face suggests late seventeenth-century work. All we know is that the picture has been hanging at Kilchberg for at least 200 years. There are many points of similarity between it and the Stuttgart portrait, which hung formerly in the chapel at Kilchberg, and it is possible that the Kilchberg portrait was taken from it, or from another portrait which has disappeared. The long hair is noticeable in both. Jörg appears as a man of commanding presence, tall and slim, with clear-cut features, prominent nose and beautiful hair. He impresses one as a man of action rather than a thinker, but his services to the House of Würtemberg show that he must have been a skilled

administrator and a shrewd man of affairs. We know from the family chroniclers that he was remarkable for his piety and charity, and that his children were brought up strictly in accordance with the principles inherited from his father. By careful management he was able to increase his estate, and in his later life he divided his property between his sons, the eldest, Rudolf, who was to play an important part in the history of Würtemberg, taking Schloss Kilchberg and its dependent villages. Jörg retired then to his sheep-farm, and it is pleasant to think of the old man busying himself with his sheep, surrounded by his children, his mind stored with recollections of a long and well-spent life.

Jörg rebuilt the castle of Kilchberg in 1494. In 1487, in acknowledgement of his extensive travels, he had received permission from the Bishop of Constance to install an altar in his castle and to have mass said there by his private chaplain. Later he built a little chapel, which was consecrated in 1501. He commissioned an altarpiece for it from Bartholomäus Zeitblom (d. 1521), the Ulm artist, which is now in the Kgl. Museum der bildenden Künste at Stuttgart (48a-52). It is in three panels. In the centre is depicted in relief the coronation of the Virgin, and on the two side panels, in front, are St. Florian and St. George, and at the back John the Baptist and St. Margaret. Two further panels were painted containing portraits of Jörg von Ehingen and his wife. The latter has disappeared, but the former, much injured by damp, is kept in the basement of the gallery at Stuttgart. It shows the knight kneeling in full armour with spurs and sword, his hands clasped and his helmet beside him. He wears his hair long, as in the portrait at Kilchberg, and sufficient remains of the face to show a firm mouth and an earnest rather inquiring look. Unfortunately the portrait is too much damaged to be reproduced. A copy of the altarpiece (without the portrait) hangs in the chapel at Kilchberg.

The castle itself stands in the valley of the Neckar, opposite the little church at Kilchberg, which has preserved many monuments of Jörg's descendants. It has been much altered, but one moat and portions of a second remain. The building is now chiefly remarkable for the lofty tower which flanks the main building on the right, and the circular watchhouse on the left, both of which must date from very



THE CASTLE OF KILCHBERG, NEAR TÜBINGEN
(front view)

early times. Behind the tower stands the building containing the chapel, and below it is the room in which the archives were formerly kept. The castle passed to the von Tessin family some 200 years ago. It is carefully preserved and is beautifully situated with extensive views to the wooded hills which hem the valley in on every side.

The manuscript of Jörg von Ehingen's diary preserved at Stuttgart is written on sixty-three pages of paper in a sixteenth-century script. Following the diary and numbered 79 to 98 are the parchment sheets containing the portraits of the kings he saw on his travels. Some of the sheets are blank, but sheet 83 contains a title in a fifteenth-century hand, of which the following is a translation: 'Item, these painted figures of kings Jörg von Ehingen, Knight, caused to be made when he saw them all himself personally in the year as one counts from Christ's birth 1455.' Each portrait contains a separate title, also in a fifteenth-century hand. The whole is bound together in a parchment cover from a document of 1467 and measures 8½ inches by 6 inches (see *Die historischen Handschriften der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Stuttgart*, by Dr. W. von Heyd, Stuttgart, 1891, vol. ii, p. 63). It seems clear (Holzherr, *Geschichte der Reichsfreiberren von Ehingen*, Stuttgart, 1884, p. 40) that the earlier portion containing the family history, in which Jörg von Ehingen is spoken of in the third person, was written by Jörg's grandson, Sigmund von Hornstein, probably from information supplied by Jörg himself, and that von Hornstein then appended a copy of the diary taken from an earlier manuscript. As for the portraits there can be little doubt that they are the identical ones which Ehingen had painted on his return, probably from sketches obtained at the various courts he visited. The work was obviously entrusted to a skilled artist, for the portraits are very striking both as regards characterization and colouring. That they were highly valued seems clear from the fact that enlarged paintings were made, apparently from the drawings, to adorn the castle of Kilchberg, where they still hang, together with Ehingen's portrait which is reproduced here as the frontispiece. It must be said, however, that the large portraits as a whole are of inferior workmanship when compared with the drawings, and seem to date from a much later period. Coloured copies of the drawings were also pasted into Nikodemus Frischlin's manuscript *Familienchronik des Hauses Ehingen*, which was

formerly at Kilchberg but is now in the Fürstl. Hohenzollernsches Museum at Sigmaringen (No. 67). Vallet de Viriville in an article in *Annales archéologiques* (1855, vol. xv, p. 109) speaks of a fragment preserved in the library of Ste.-Geneviève at Paris containing two portraits, Ladislaus and Charles of France, which are identical with those at Stuttgart. This fragment seems to date from the sixteenth century. Vallet de Viriville gives also small woodcut reproductions of the head and shoulders of each portrait. Jakob von Hefner-Alteneck reproduced three of the portraits in colour in his *Trachten des christlichen Mittelalters*, Mannheim, 1840, &c., vol. ii; plate 75, Charles VII; plate 67, Henry IV of Castile; plate 81, Henry VI of England. The work is now extremely scarce, but there is a fine copy in the London Library.

The figures in the drawings are nearly all presented in the familiar dress of the period, very short tight jackets, girded at the waist and heavily padded at the shoulders, leg-of-mutton sleeves, tight hose, peaked shoes, and low circular hats. With one exception the drawings seem all to be by the same hand, the exception being Ladislaus of Hungary, whose portrait shows little of the skill in execution and characterization exhibited in the others. The artist has added shields of arms with supporters to the portraits, as well as the names and descriptions of the persons represented. They are:

- Ladislaus of Hungary.
- Charles VII of France.
- Henry IV, 'the Impotent', of Castile.
- Henry VI of England.
- Alfonso V, 'the African', of Portugal.
- Janus III (miscalled by the artist Philip) of Cyprus.
- René of Anjou.
- John II of Navarre and Aragon.
- James II of Scotland.

Further comment on the portraits must be reserved for the text which accompanies the reproductions, but it may be observed here that the drawings are of the greatest interest and importance, and that in some cases no other portrait of the person represented is known to exist.



THE CASTLE OF KILCHBERG
(back view, showing chapel)

NOTES AS TO DATES

Jörg von Ehingen was born in 1428.

He was present at the coronation of Ladislaus as King of Bohemia on 28 October 1453 (p. 21).

He then returned to Rottenburg.

In the following spring he set off for Rhodes (p. 23).

Remained eleven months at Rhodes (p. 24).

Visited the Holy Land (p. 24).

At Cyprus (p. 25). Ill for some weeks.

Returned by way of Venice to Kilchberg. He tells us that this happened in 1454 (p. 26), but he cannot have been back at Kilchberg until well into 1455.

Remained a whole year at Duke Albert's court at Rottenburg (p. 26).

Set off for France (p. 28). This must have been in the latter part of 1456.

Remained six weeks at the Court of Charles VII (p. 28).

Visited René of Anjou at Angers and remained some weeks (p. 29).

Visited John II in Navarre (p. 29).

Went to Portugal, where he must have spent some time exercising himself in knightly sports and seeing the country (p. 30).

Took part in an expedition to Ceuta and was seven months in the town (p. 36). The date of this expedition is considered in note 1, p. 32.

Returned to Portugal (p. 36).

Went to Spain and took part in an expedition against the Moors (p. 37).

Returned to Court and spent two months there (p. 38).

Took leave in 1457. The grant of the Order of the Escama is dated 15 September 1457 (see p. 67).

Returned to Portugal and left with letter of recommendation from the King dated 15 March 1458 (p. 67).

Visited England and Scotland (p. 40).

It is obvious that Ehingen cannot have done everything he describes between 1455 and 1457, and that there is a confusion somewhere as to dates. According to his own account he traversed France and Spain, visited Portugal, fought for seven months at Ceuta, returned to Portugal, took part in an expedition before Granada (which must have been a lengthy business), and spent several months in sightseeing and knightly pastimes at the various courts he visited, all in the space of two years. This is assuming that he is correct when he tells us that he returned to Kilchberg in 1454 and spent a year at court before setting out on his travels. As a matter of fact it is difficult to see how he can have started before the latter part of 1456. The only dates we have outside Ehingen's own narrative are:

(1) Coronation of Ladislaus V at Prague, 28 October 1453.

(2) Grant of Order of the Escama, 5 September 1457.
(3) Letter of recommendation from Alfonso of Portugal, to his aunt Isabella of Burgundy, 15 March 1458, obviously obtained before Ehingen's return to his own country and after the expedition to Ceuta.

The exciting events described have to be fitted in somewhere, but more than this it is impossible to say.

BURKARD VON EHINGEN WITH THE TRESS¹

HE was so called for this reason. He served a Duke of Austria in the East who was the founder of a knightly Order. The sign of this Order was a tress which a beautiful lady once upon a time had cut off and presented to him, and the Duke founded the Order in honour of this selfsame lady.² This Burkard von Ehingen brought the Order with him from Austria into Swabia, for he had been apprised that war had broken out in Swabia between the towns and their lord. He therefore craved leave of his Prince in Austria to return home, and attached himself to Count Eberhard of Würtemberg, who was called the Quarrelsome.³ After he had served this lord for some time it came about that the Count was greatly in his debt for pay, horses, booty, and suchlike. It fell out also that in the year 1388 the imperial towns sent forth a great army through Count Eberhard's country, who thereupon roused himself in his might and marched against the invaders and engaged them in the neighbourhood of Weil on the heights of Döffingen.⁴ Both sides fought with great valour, but the victory fell to Count Eberhard. Nevertheless he lost a son in the battle and many valiant noblemen as well. Burkard von Ehingen with the Tress took captive in the battle two mighty men belonging to the towns, the one called Rappenherr of Weil, of whom

¹ On Burkard von Ehingen 'with the Tress' (b. 1348, d. 1407) see Holzherr, *Geschichte der Reichsfreiberren von Ehingen*, Stuttgart, 1884, p. 23 f., and Introduction, p. 1.

² On this Order see Zedler, *Universal-Lexicon*, vol. 63, p. 479. It was founded by Duke Albert III of Austria in the fourteenth century. Alternative explanations as to its origin are given, e.g. that the Duke wore a pigtail; that when in the Holy Land he sent back some of his hair to his wife; that he first met his wife at a bath and cut off a lock of her hair without her knowledge.

³ Eberhard the Quarrelsome ('der Greiner'), count of Würtemberg, 1344-92, a typical soldier-ruler of the fourteenth century, always ready to take up arms and lay them down upon terms. He spent many years

of his rule in bitter warfare with the Swabian cities. P. F. Stälin, *Geschichte Würtembergs*, 1887, vol. i. 2, p. 572.

⁴ In 1331 twenty-two Swabian cities, including Ulm, Augsburg, Reutlingen, and Heilbronn, formed a league against the nobility, and civil war ensued. The league was defeated by Eberhard II of Würtemberg in 1372. A new league was formed, led by Ulm, and the armies of the cities defeated the Count at Reutlingen in 1377. P. F. Stälin, *Geschichte Würtembergs*, 1887, vol. i. 2, p. 551. The struggle between burghers and nobles continued, and in 1385 civil war broke out again, during which the cities, weakened by isolation and mutual jealousies, were defeated by Count Eberhard at Döffingen (23 August, 1388). Stälin, pp. 565 ff.

it was said that he had roused up the towns to war, the other named Spiess of Nördlingen. He carried the prisoners to his castle at Frundeck,¹ and amerced them in the full amount of the Count's indebtedness to him. He then sent them both with a safe conduct to the Count together with a discharge for the moneys, and Count Eberhard amerced them again to the extent of 1,500 gulden.

Item. Burkard von Ehingen with the Tress was slain by the knights of Zollern in a pursuit at Weil below Zollern at a time when Oettinger, called also Count of Zollern, had devastated the lordship of Hohenberg with men and fire, from which lordship Burkard von Ehingen with the Tress held the old castle at Ehingen, Altrotenburg, together with several villages, in pawn. This happened in the year 1407.² His wife was the Lady Luitgard of Ihlingen.

Item. He left behind him two sons. One was called Wolf von Ehingen.³ He served Duke Ernest of Austria and died at Vienna in the year 1425 between the two Feasts of Our Lady. He is honourably buried in St. Stephen's Church at Vienna.

The second son was called Rudolph von Ehingen,⁴ a marshal to the high-born Count of Cilly. He was the father of Jörg von Ehingen, and was married to the noble lady Agnes, Truchsassin von Heimerdingen. After he had served many years with King Sigismund and the Count of Cilly in Hungary and other neighbouring countries, he was sent for by his cousin, Hug von Ehingen, who lived at Entringen, but had no issue by his wife, Agnes von Gültlingen. This cousin told him that he would inherit all his goods, which were worth more than 300 gulden yearly, and desired that he should settle down in his fatherland and marry well, promising to present him to a worthy nobleman who had three lovely daughters, all well brought up and of pleasing manners. Rudolf was to select one of these three,

¹ Frundeck, close to Ahldorf in the district of Horb, is now a ruin.

² On the castle of Altrotenburg see Holzherr, p. 8, and Introduction, p. 1. Burkard was buried in the Moritzkirche at Ehingen, and his monument, a kneeling figure with his wife, was to be seen, apparently, in 1887 (Holzherr, p. 24), but I could not find it in 1928, nor could the sacristan tell me anything about it. On this raid,

during which Fritz der Oettinger, Count of Zollern, captured 8 burghers of Rottweil and 30 from Rottenburg and imprisoned them in his castle of Hohenzollern, see Holzherr, pp. 7, 24.

³ Wolf von Ehingen, d. 1424. Holzherr, p. 28.

⁴ Rudolf von Ehingen, b. 1378, d. 1467, a most attractive figure; see Holzherr, pp. 28 ff., and Introduction, p. 2.

which also happened, and Agnes, Truchsassin von Heimerdingen, before mentioned, became his wife. The old Hug von Ehingen died in the same year, namely 1417.

Item. At this time and later there were five noblemen living together with their wives in the castle of Entringen.¹ They dwelt there in peace and friendship together, and a hundred children were born to them. Item. Hans von Hailfingen, knight, and his wife N. von Nipenburg had twenty children. Item. Rudolf von Ehingen and his wife Agnes, Truchsassin von Heimerdingen, had nineteen children. Item. Merk von Hailfingen and his wife Ursla von Bubenhofen had nineteen children. Item. N. von Hailfingen and his wife Käbin had twenty-one children. Item. N. von Güttingen and his wife N. had twenty-one children.

When the said Rudolf von Ehingen retired in the year above mentioned to Swabia from Hungary and Austria, he brought with him many costly possessions, such as stallions, jewels, and clothes. He was employed by the highborn Countess of Mömpelgard,² the ruling lady of the whole country of Würtemberg, as councillor and servant. After this, when his brother Wolf von Ehingen died, who had served Duke Ernest in Austria, he brought from Austria another rich fortune in stallions, jewels, and costly furs, but since it was not the custom in Swabia to make use of such treasures, he sent a part to Frankfurt to be sold, and realized some 1,500 gulden which he distributed about the country and among the people, since he had from his youth up served much in foreign lands and in wars, and had endured many hardships.

Item. Jörg von Ehingen, knight, survived all these hundred children and died the last of all.

Item. Thereafter there were two lords of Würtemberg, the sons

¹ Entringen is a village a few miles from Tübingen. The castle is now a popular place for excursions from the neighbouring towns. See Gradmann, Christ, and Klaiber, *Kunstwanderungen in Würtemberg und Hohenzollern*, Stuttgart, 1926, p. 300.

² Count Eberhard, called the Younger, had married Henriette, the heiress of Mömpelgard, in 1408. He died in 1419, leaving two sons, Ludwig and Ulrich, who divided the

inheritance between them. Ludwig died in 1450 leaving two sons, Ludwig called the Younger (d. 1457), and Eberhard V called im Bart. Eberhard V was one of the most energetic rulers that Würtemberg had ever known. Under him the lands, which had frequently been divided up, were reunited and declared indivisible, and the countship was raised in 1495 to the rank of a duchy.

of the lady Henriette, called Count Ludwig and Count Ulrich. The land was divided up, and each son ruled his own part. Rudolf von Ehingen became councillor and servant to Count Ludwig.

Item. When, long afterwards, Count Ludwig died, he left a son called Count Eberhard who became in time the first Duke of Würtemberg. In the year 1455 there were some disturbances touching the guardianship of the young Count Eberhard before mentioned, and Rudolf von Ehingen was appointed his guardian and lived with him in the castle at Tübingen. In time, when the disturbances were at an end, Rudolf von Ehingen was chosen and charged, with other noblemen, as regent and chief councillor of Count Eberhard, with whom he remained and who graciously regarded him as a councillor and faithful servant.

Item. This same Rudolf von Ehingen was a Christian man, skilled in judgement and understanding. He was likewise in person of good stature and well proportioned. He assisted to build many churches, and repaired and renewed the foundations and charities of his parents. He laboured also to adjust the disputes between the people and the clergy, and the lords and nobles. His disposition was tranquil, and whatever business he undertook he brought generally to a peaceful conclusion. On this account he was much looked up to in his time and was beloved of all.

Item. Seeing that he had spent his youth in distant parts, and that, later, in his fatherland, he was forced to weary himself in laborious duties, and since he had then four well-grown and comely sons (for his noble wife had died many years before at the birth of her nineteenth child, after which he had lost many of his children, until, of his sons, only four remained, Diepold, Burkard, Wolf, and Jörg) and had lived for upwards of thirty years a widower in accordance with his vows; therefore, he determined to make over all his worldly goods to his four sons, to the end that each might take his share, and so by gaining experience come worthily to man's estate; after which he would retire wholly from the world, and spend the remainder of his days in communion with Almighty God.

Therefore, in the year counting from the birth of Christ, our Lord, 1459, he made division of his castle, villages, people and goods between the four sons before mentioned, and Jörg in preparation for

his knighthood received 1,000 gulden in possessions and fifty gulden in money of Würtemberg, and when he had made division he disclosed his purpose to his sons. Further, he made his will and arranged in orderly manner for his burial and anniversary, having already established an anniversary in the town of Tübingen, so that when he came to die the poor people should receive 200 garments wherewith to clothe themselves, namely 100 suits for the men and to each a hat, and 100 dresses for the women. These were to be distributed, first among his own poor people, and thereafter to whom they thought fit, all on the day of his burial, so that after his death everything might be duly performed.

Item. When these things had all been fittingly ordered, he took with him his four sons and rode to the grave of the holy virgin Hailwigis¹ who rests in the parish church at Gösslingen, not far from Rottweil, and had performed many miracles. He gave his sons to understand that he intended to visit the grave of the holy virgin Hailwigis, who had been a kinswoman of his, since her mother was an Ehingen, to take his leave of her. He then set out with his sons before mentioned to the old town of Ehingen which lies on the Neckar, and caused a splendid mass to be sung in the church in which he had been baptized. He then rode with his sons to Kilchberg which adjoined the castle, and so to the Carthusian monastery at Gütterstein. But he did not enter the castle of Kilchberg,² which was a matter for surprise, and indeed he did not visit it again as long as he lived.

Item. When he reached the Carthusian monastery at Gütterstein, where he had ordered a dwelling for himself and a servant, containing his own living-room, chamber, and closet, he dismissed his four sons and gave them good and wise counsel, in what manner they should conduct themselves towards Almighty God, and in the world in which they laboured and sought their reward.

Thus he remained until his death with these holy fathers. Never again did he eat meat, and with earnest and diligent devotion he

¹ The virgin Hailwigis or Hayla is said to have lived in Tübingen in the thirteenth century. Her mother was an Ehingen. She was very diligent at her devotions, and as she drew near to the church at Gösslingen the doors flew open of their own accord. She

was canonized after her death, and many miracles were performed at her grave. Holzher, p. 26.

² The castle of Kilchberg, much altered, still stands a few miles from Tübingen. See Introduction, p. 8.

attended church day and night, at all times when singing and reading took place. And although he did not assume the habit of the Order, yet in all things he comported himself as a holy Carthusian, as the same was more spoken of and published by the fathers after his death than during his life.

Item. It was ever his desire that his sons should not disdain his counsel in their affairs, but should seek it, which in truth they did with the greatest diligence while he lived, and found his words to be comforting and on many occasions advantageous to them all.

Item. Since he loved Jörg above all his sons, therefore this Jörg visited him frequently, and when the time of his death was approaching he came to dwell with him, serving him diligently as a dying man and as his father. And once when he was about to die he said to him: 'Dear son Jörg, you have much labour and trouble on my account, and therefore I am sorry for you.' To which Jörg made answer: 'Dear father, all this I do willingly; therefore trouble not yourself.' The father then replied: 'Most gladly do I make over to you the honour which will be yours when your father dies. Now is the time of my death approaching. I have prayed always to God, the Lord, if it were for my good and in accordance with his holy will, that he would grant me that number of years and days which St. John, the holy apostle and evangelist, spent upon earth. This the Lord God has fulfilled in me. I am now ready to die in perfect happiness, and to leave this world.' With that he began to die, and he went out like a candle. Now he had ordained, when he came to that place, that the step or footstool in front of his bed should be his coffin. In this was a sheet in which he was to be shrouded and sewn, together with the candles and lights for burning by the coffin. He had directed also that when he died his body should be carried to Entringen and buried there in a grave which he had a long time previously chosen and prepared. So his body was carried there and worthily and honourably buried and given to the earth in the year 1467 on the Feast of St. Gall.¹ May Almighty God have mercy and pity upon him and upon all faithful souls.

¹ Rudolf's gravestone may still be seen outside the church at Entringen. It can be identified by the crossed rakes, the arms of his wife, but it is weathering badly. His

epitaph painted on wood, formerly in the Rathaus at Entringen (Holzherr, p. 32), has vanished. My inquiries could elicit nothing about it.

THE DIARY OF JÖRG VON EHINGEN

I, Jörg von Ehingen, knight, was sent in my youth as page to the Court at Innsbruck.¹ At that time a young Prince of Austria, Duke Sigismund,² held his court there. He had married a Queen of Scotland, and I was ordered to serve her. After a time I became carver and server of the dishes to this Queen. But when I grew older and came to man's estate, and began to be conscious of my strength, I thought myself too lowly employed, and proposed to attach myself to some active prince, so that I might exercise myself in knightly matters and learn all the practices of knighthood, rather than remain in peace and pleasure at Innsbruck. Now, at that time, Duke Albert of Austria, brother of the Roman Emperor Frederick,³ had returned from the Eastern countries to Swabia and Upper Germany, and my late father assisted me with three horses to enter his service. This same Duke Albert had many worthy people about him, and kept a costly, prince-like, and, indeed, a royal court. After I had been some time at this court it happened on a time that Duke Sigismund of Austria was about to visit Duke Albert. As I had then left Innsbruck in order to obtain service and experience with another prince, and was at that time only an ordinary attendant like any other nobleman, I was much perturbed lest I might seem to my former Prince, Duke Sigismund, and his train to have lowered my condition. I therefore besought my late father, who was an experienced courtier, to advise me how I might bring myself forward with the Prince and his court, for there were so many and divers people there from all countries that none was regarded as of much account. When I spoke with him he desired to understand the matter further, and I knew that he had some excellent proposal to make. He considered for a while and then said to me: 'Dear son, you are sufficiently strong and well grown to undertake all that is fitting to a young knight. I gather

¹ Tyrol passed to the Habsburgs in the fourteenth century, and until 1665 was generally governed by a cadet of the Austrian House who ruled at Meran or Innsbruck as an almost independent prince.

² Duke Sigismund of Tyrol, b. 1427, succeeded his father in 1439 and died in 1496.

He married in 1449 Eleanor, daughter of James I of Scotland.

³ Duke Albert VI, the Prodigal, of Carinthia, brother to the Emperor Frederick III, b. 1418, d. 1463. His constant feuds with the Emperor added greatly to the disorders of the age.

from your speech that you are ready to perform such duties, and are content to bide your time. Now, all things must have a beginning. That you should desire a post, how small soever it may be, about the person of the Prince is good, and you should prepare yourself for such a post with diligence, keeping aloof from worthless people, but not from nobles and persons of consequence, for it is in such matters that a young man becomes noticed and respected.' Thereupon I asked my late father how I should labour to obtain such a position. He considered again for a while and said: 'You departed from Innsbruck in some small disfavour, for young princes are generally disposed to think that they are all of princely estate, and that the best of everything in the world is to be had at their courts. Therefore you should approach the Prince, Duke Albert, as a young courtier, taking care to choose an occasion when he is merry and not ill-disposed, and speak thus: "Gracious Prince. It is now some time since I was graciously accepted at your noble court, having come from my gracious lord, Duke Sigismund, and his noble lady whom I have served from youth upwards, my desire being, first of all, by good will to obtain your Grace's favour, and to learn at your noble court such things as are fitting to the condition of a young knight. Now I have heard that my gracious lord, Duke Sigismund, is about to visit your court. If he were to see that I have deserved no post, be it never so small, in your Grace's service, I shall be looked down upon as one of no account, and shall be not a little shamed before him and his noble courtiers. Be pleased therefore to allot to me as a young man some service about your Grace's person, and I will seek only to do your Grace's pleasure".'

Thereupon I parted from my late father and set about with particular diligence and preparation to do his bidding. And the time came when, as before mentioned, I was able to have speech with the Prince. He regarded me with gentleness, laughed, and then said, speaking quickly and abruptly, with a familiar oath, 'God's limping goose, so be it'. And calling a nobleman to him, who was one of his chamberlains, he said, 'Go and bring the keys of my apartments and give them to von Ehingen'; which also happened. And thus was I attached with other gentlemen and nobles to the service of the bed-chamber.

When my lord Duke Sigismund arrived I provided myself with a number of keys and waited diligently as a chamberlain on my gracious master Duke Albert, so that Duke Sigismund and his train could see that I had earned a post at Court. And when my master Duke Albert was alone in his chamber, and saw that his gracious plan had been successful, he laughed heartily with me and my companions who were present and we made very merry together. So it fell out that, with the others who were about his Grace, I rendered and received such services as were fitting to a young courtier, and I was able by careful attention to such matters to become the foremost among the Duke's chamberlains.

In that year it fell out that King Ladislaus,¹ who was a prince of Austria and at the same time King of Hungary and Bohemia, caused himself to be crowned at Prague as King of Bohemia. Then my gracious master, Duke Albert, caused 500 horses to be equipped, and the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg prepared himself also to accompany my master with 300 horses. I reported these matters to my late father, and acquainted him with the course I had followed in accordance with his counsel, and of my present position. At this he was much pleased and said: 'Dear son, I will fit you out well and honourably for this expedition in such manner as becomes a knightly man, so that you may exercise yourself in all knightly matters and tournaments, and be prepared to take your place among your equals and superiors who have been dubbed knights, and so shall you return to your place.' Accordingly I was provided with armour and cuirass, with stallions, horses, pages, clothes and other things, and fitted out as a knight, and my gracious master was much pleased with what had been done. His Grace was attended by a well-equipped train of many distinguished people. So the two Princes rode with each other to Vienna in Austria, where they found King Ladislaus, who received them honourably. From Vienna the Princes travelled with the King, who was attended by many powerful men from Hungary, Austria, and other lands thereto belonging, with a train of 10,000 horses, and thus he rode into Prague. But it would take too long to describe all the knightly sports and royal and costly

¹ On Ladislaus see below, p. 42. The date of the coronation was 28 Oct. 1453. Ehingen brought back his portrait.

displays which were seen at Vienna and on the road between that place and Prague. But King Ladislaus rode into Prague with many princes and lords, and his 10,000 horses, and was crowned King, and many counts, lords, and nobles were dubbed knights. Five members of my gracious master, Duke Albert's train were knighted and accepted into the ranks of chivalry: Lord Jörg, Truchsess of Waldsee, Lord Bernhart of Bach, Lord Conrad of Ramstein, Lord Sigismund of Thun, and I, Jörg von Ehingen, knight.

Item. A Queen rode into Prague in a golden litter, and four knights of Duke Albert's train were ordered to walk at the corners of the litter in full armour to carry it, of which I, Jörg von Ehingen, was one.

Item. After this we four knights engaged in a splendid tourney, the contest being waged beyond all measure fiercely.

Item. After these happenings my noble master and the Margrave returned each to his home, and we arrived at Rottenburg-on-the-Neckar, where his Grace remained with his court for a time.

At this time, when my late father heard of the arrival of my noble master, he came to Rottenburg, and after the entry, when each man went to his inn, my father came to me and welcomed me in God's name and wished me joy in my knighthood. He ordered me further, when a few days should have elapsed, to betake myself to him at Kilchberg, as he desired to discuss certain matters with me. Accordingly, after a few days, I went to Kilchberg. My father called me into his room, which still stands above the gate, and had long and agreeable speech with me concerning the state of knighthood, and in what manner I should comport myself, and presented me for my knighthood with 400 gulden which he had then by him in a bowl. He told me also that it was not his wish that I should henceforward spend my time in peace and uselessness in the courts of princes, or in taverns, but that in the coming spring a splendid expedition under the command of the knights of St. John was setting out for Rhodes, since the Turkish ruler had allowed it to be known that he would attack Rhodes by sea and land with intent to conquer it. For this expedition I was to prepare myself as a young knight, and was to set out in the coming spring with the knights for Rhodes. And when the undertaking had been accomplished (if God the Lord had so long preserved my life) I was to proceed to the Holy Sepulchre of

Christ and to the Holy Land. For my father had been possessed throughout his life with a great longing to see the Holy City and the land, but had been hindered by an abundance of weighty matters from accomplishing his purpose, as indeed he had told me many times. It would therefore give him great joy, he said, for me to visit the Holy Land and cities, for which purpose he would fit me out according to his means. This speech was very pleasing to me, and I gave my father to understand that it was my own wish and disposition to perform the obligations of knighthood in all earnestness. I proposed first of all to present the matter to my gracious master, and then prepare myself in accordance with his counsel. Now it had fallen out during my journey to Austria and Bohemia that certain of my stallions and horses had suffered injury. These and others I now sold to advantage to my gracious master, and to the gentlemen at court. I also informed my master of my determination, and received his gracious approval. But I retained my position at court, and his Grace gave me his favour and leave of absence. I then took leave of my late father, who directed me among other things to leave a pledge and hostage with St. John, the holy apostle and evangelist, against my return, for this was always his custom when I left him.

Accordingly in the same spring I set forth alone at my own charges, with the associates of the Order of St. John, towards Venice, but no one from my gracious master's court would travel with me. Nor did any gentleman or nobleman from Upper Germany join the expedition, which later fell out to my benefit and advantage with the Grand Master. But many knightly persons and noblemen from France and Spain went with us. We left Venice¹ on the outward journey, and many things happened to us before we reached Rhodes, which for the sake of brevity I omit. But when we arrived at Rhodes I was especially well and graciously received by the Grand Master,² for the knights of the Order with whom I travelled had informed his Grace why and in what manner I had come there. The

¹ There is a detailed description of Venice at a slightly earlier period in my translation of *The Travels and Adventures of Pero Tafur*, Broadway Travellers, 1926, pp. 163 ff.

² The Grand Master was either Jean de Lastric, d. 17 August 1454, or his successor

Jacques de Milly, d. 1461. If the former, Pero Tafur was present at his election and has left us a most interesting description of the ceremony. *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 108 ff. See Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, Oxford, 1908, p. 19.

Grand Master was at that time fully mobilized, for he had received many and various warnings, and his preparations occupied some time. But there was little for us to do by sea or land, such as we had promised ourselves in a war with the Turks. I applied myself with the greatest diligence at all times with the captains to those knightly exercises which I had come there to perform. But the Turks delayed so long with their attack that in the meantime the Turkish ruler died, and the siege by the Turks did not take place, from which the Grand Master and many of the Christians assumed that it had been abandoned.

After these happenings, when I had been eleven months at Rhodes and about its seaboard, the Grand Master gave me leave and thanked me graciously. He honoured me also with costly gifts, particularly certain relics, including a thorn from Our Lord's crown. In such manner and with such honours I left Rhodes and took with me a safe-conduct from the Grand Master to the King of Cyprus, in case, on my return journey from the Holy Land, I should come there, which also happened. And since I had learnt that at Beyrouth the holy knight St. George had slain the dreadful dragon, and also converted the king, his wife and daughter, and the whole land to Christianity, I was most desirous of going first to that place. So I came to Beyrouth and visited the town and the churches where so many marvellous things had happened.

I travelled thence with an escort by land for eight days, and came to certain large towns, called Tyre, Safed, and Appolloso (?), and so to Nazareth and Jerusalem. We passed also the Sea of Galilee, from which the country is called Galilee. When I had visited the holy places and had seen the greater part of them, and had spent fifteen days in Jerusalem, it was my desire to proceed to St. Catherine's Monastery and to Babylonia [Cairo], and I thereupon attached myself to certain merchants and barefooted monks. I obtained in this manner an honest companion, an adroit man, called the Monk of Basle, who was willing to travel with me to St. Catherine's. We set out, therefore, with an escort and came to Damascus.¹ Here we were

¹ Bertrandon de la Brocquière in 1432 saw at Damascus the place where St. Paul was struck blind and thrown from his horse. He gives a good description of the town. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, 1848, p. 294.

to be joined by other pilgrims, as the merchants and barefooted monks had told us. The town of Damascus is large and well built. We were shown the house in which the apostle Paul had lodged, with many other places, and heard stories of many holy men and prophets. After we had spent some days in Damascus and were preparing ourselves for the lengthy journey to St. Catherine's,¹ I and my companion were seized and closely imprisoned. We finally obtained our liberty, but it cost us as much as thirty ducats. Our journey, therefore, was abandoned, for we did not desire to know more of the heathens and Arabs.

We came now to Alexandria,² where the holy virgin St. Catherine was martyred. It is a seaport and is well defended by the Sultan with many soldiers and mamelukes. Here the great river Nile, which flows through Babylonia and Egypt, enters the sea. As soon as we could find a ship we sailed to the Kingdom of Cyprus, but before we came there my companion, that one named the Monk of Basle, died. He was thrown from the galley into the sea. I was much cast down at his death. May God be gracious and merciful to his soul.

I travelled on to Cyprus to acquaint myself with the King's court and his kingdom. At this time King Philip [Janus]³ was reigning. I was travelling with certain Venetian merchants from Cyprus who were intending to return thither, and thus I came to the kingdom, to the town of Rhodes[Nicosia]. I presented the safe-conduct from the Grand Master, and was most graciously received by the King. He caused me to be carried about to see his kingdom, and honoured me with his royal company, and I then took leave of him and returned to Rhodes. When I arrived there I was very graciously received and entertained by the Grand Master. But I became somewhat ill and

¹ The journey was a very trying and dangerous one. Tafur in 1436 took fifteen days (*Travels and Adventures*, p. 81), and it was said that no pilgrim ever undertook the journey twice. See generally Röhricht, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*, Innsbruck, 1900, p. 23, and note 305, where mention is made of the constant plundering of pilgrims.

² Alexandria was visited by most pilgrims at this time. It was here that they often beheld their first crocodile. Röhricht, *Deutsche*

Pilgerreisen, Innsbruck, 1900, p. 24. Tafur describes it as a great place of loading and unloading for the Christians. *Travels and Adventures*, p. 102.

³ The King was the weak and vicious Janus III. Ehingen brought back his portrait. See below, p. 56. Ehingen has written Philip for Janus and Rhodes for Nicosia, where the kings of Cyprus held their court. Famagusta was in the possession of Genoa. Tafur has much to say about Cyprus. See *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 64, 103.

had to lie still for some weeks, and the Grand Master sent me his own physician and everything I had need of until I recovered. Thereupon I left him once more and travelled to Venice, and thence to my father-land. When I reached home and came to my father's castle of Kilchberg, I was received by him with great joy, and I carried the relics to his chapel, which gave him special pleasure. I remained thus some days at Kilchberg, and procured fresh clothes for myself and certain of my servants. This happened in the year 1454.¹

At this time my gracious master, Duke Albert, was with his court at Rottenburg-on-the-Neckar. I presented myself to his Grace and was very graciously and well received by him, as well as by the courtiers and all the nobles and knights. The Duke presented me also with the princely Order of the Salamander, and I remained a whole year with his Grace at court, but my desire still was to follow the profession of knighthood. I was preferred by his Grace above all other lords and nobles, and became his chief chamberlain. It happened in that year that his Grace spoke frequently with me on many matters touching my sea journeys, and I made his Grace aware of my desire, that as soon as I heard of a worthy expedition of knights to attach myself to them, with his gracious consent, and to follow their fortunes, carrying myself therein in such wise as to bring distinction to his Grace's name. With this the Duke was well content. But at that time there were, so far as I could learn, no warlike disturbances in the country of any king or prince, for peace prevailed in all the kingdoms of the Christian world. And I began to think that it was useless for me to waste my time thus sitting still, for my gracious master also had then no particular business in hand, and spent the time at his court at Rottenburg or at Freiburg very pleasantly in racing, tourneys and dancing, and such-like pastimes, wherein I also took part as best I could, and applied myself very diligently thereto. For my late father said always that slothfulness was a great vice in young and old. I hoped also by such exercises to obtain practice and facility which would profit me in my knightly undertakings and be very serviceable to me, for I contemplated visiting the most famous

¹ As to this date see 'Note as to Dates', p. 11. If Ehingen left for the East in the spring of 1454, spent eleven months at Rhodes and

visited the Holy Land and Cyprus, he cannot have been home again until well into 1455.

kingdoms of Christendom, intending to wander from one country to another until I met with serious and important affairs.

Now, at that time, there was a young and sturdy nobleman at my gracious master's court called Jörg von Ramsyden. He came from the Salzburg mountains, where he had a castle and estates. He sought my company at all times, and begged me, if I were travelling into foreign countries, to allow him to accompany me. I found him to be of a ready and honest disposition; he was also well set up and very strong. He was also rich and owned many estates. I therefore told him, if it pleased him, and at his own request and desire, that I would gladly take him as a companion, for my mind was to set off very soon to distant kingdoms. Whereat he rejoiced greatly and told me that he would regard me as his father. And as I had seen more of the world and had greater experience, he begged me to advise and instruct him, for which he was prepared to lay down the whole of his fortune. We therefore agreed that we should obtain letters from his Imperial Majesty and from King Ladislaus, also from other noble personages to the kings next mentioned, and also to other Christian kings and mighty princes, so that we could visit them in case it should fall out that we could find no employment elsewhere. We asked our gracious master to procure us the letters, and he was pleased to consent and agreed to obtain them, and in order that we might have special praise and approval, since we came from his court, and from the most famous House of Austria, his Grace sent personally to his Imperial Majesty and to King Ladislaus to obtain the letters and safe-conducts. In these we were to be presented with high recommendations to the King of France, the King of Portugal (who was brother to the Empress),¹ the King of Spain, the King of England, and his Grace proposed also to give us a general letter to all Christian kings and princes. These letters were accordingly procured. In addition my gracious master placed at our disposal an experienced herald, who spoke many languages, and arranged all things most graciously. We had between us eight horses, and in addition, a herald, and a sack or baggage servant who had charge of our clothes, so that we had altogether ten horses.

¹ Alfonso's sister Eleanor married the Emperor Frederick III and was the mother of Maximilian.

We travelled first of all to the King of France, King Charles,¹ and when we arrived at his court we were greatly honoured by the French lords and courtiers, and by virtue of the letter which we carried we were also specially honoured and well treated by the King himself.

There were, however, no particular knightly pastimes at his court, since he was a solemn King, somewhat advanced in years. But when we had been six weeks there a splendid ambassador arrived from the King of Spain, who announced to the King that his master was about to undertake a mighty expedition against the infidel King of Granada, since this same infidel king, with help from the King of Tunis and other heathen kings of Africa, had threatened to overrun the whole of Spain. The messenger intimated that the King's undertaking was intended to prevent this, which might happen at any time, and under God, to render thus to his kingdom and to Christendom in general a profitable service. He begged the King to publish abroad throughout the whole Kingdom of France the news of his King's most Christian determination, to the end that knightly persons might be moved to ride forth with him; which thing the French King commanded should be done in accordance with the messenger's requests. Upon this we informed the King that we were desirous to undertake the journey and support the undertaking, and craved humbly that we might receive the necessary assistance. The King heard this with much pleasure and dispatched us most honourably. He presented to each of us a new suit of armour and a stallion, together with 300 crowns, and gave us a letter to the King of Spain, and another also which would procure us honourable reception throughout the whole of France. We then travelled through the country and through Armagnac and Toulouse until we reached the Kingdom of Navarre and came to the chief town of the King called Pamplona. On our journey we were apprised that the King of Sicily held his court at Angers, in France. We therefore travelled thither, since it was not far out of our way, it being our intention at the same time to let our stallions

¹ Charles VII was then probably at the Château de Bois-Sire-Aimé close to Bourges. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Hist. de Charles VII*, 1881-91, vol. vi, p. 31; but the author

dates the reception of Ehingen in 1455, which is too early. Ehingen brought back the King's portrait. See below, p. 46.

and horses stand and rest, and to remain some weeks with the King. This King's name was René,¹ and he possessed many excellent estates, as well as towns and castles, in France. So we came to the court of King René of Sicily at Angers, where we were well and courteously received and honoured by the King himself.

After some weeks we departed, but as we were travelling through France towards Pamplona in the Kingdom of Navarre, as already reported, we were informed that the expedition to Granada had been abandoned, and we were advised to proceed to the court of the King of Navarre and remain there for a while in order to accustom ourselves a little to the country, after which we could continue our journey to Portugal. We accordingly proceeded to the court of the King of Navarre, whose name was John,² where we remained for two months. The King received us courteously, and arranged many entertainments in our honour such as hunting, dancing, feasting and other pastimes.

Among certain information which came to our ears at court was the news that the King of Portugal was engaged in serious warfare by land and sea with the infidels of Africa, and especially with the heathen King of Fez, for the King of Portugal had taken from him some years before a great town across the sea in Africa called Ceuta, and we were advised to proceed with all speed to Portugal. We therefore begged leave of the King of Navarre, which was graciously granted, and departed in great honour with the assurance that we should be treated throughout his Kingdom with great respect.

Thus we travelled through the Kingdom of Spain, visiting several great towns, such as Burgos and others, until we reached Santiago de Compostella. Here we parted with certain of our heavy stallions, for the way is very long, and proposed to take ship at the seaport called Lagrunge, which the peasants and Jacobsbrüder in our country call 'at the dark star' [zum vinstern stern],³ and this we did. We took

¹ René of Anjou. Ehingen brought back his portrait. See below, p. 58.

² John II, a remarkable but extraordinarily unscrupulous sovereign. Ehingen brought back his portrait. See below, p. 60.

³ Simple people who knew no Latin thought that Finisterre meant 'finster Stern',

dark star. The Jacobsbrüder were the professional pilgrims who were continually on the roads to and from Compostella, seeking to gain pardons for themselves and others by their wandering devotion. See *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ii, pp. 105-6. Lagrunge may mean Corunna.

ship and sailed across the sea to the Kingdom of Portugal,¹ the distance being 120 miles by water, and we landed at the town of Lisbon, which is the chief town in Portugal. We caused the King to be informed of our arrival, and as soon as he understood that we had come from the Emperor and from the House of Austria he sent to us in our inn and informed us that he had taken note of our arrival, but that after so long a journey by land and sea we must rest and refresh ourselves for a while, and that he would then grant us a speedy audience. He gave orders also that we should be well treated at the inn. Some days later the King sent for us to court, and several lords and noblemen came to conduct us thither. When we were presented to the King, who was splendidly attended in his royal chamber by numerous princes and marquesses and many lords and knights, he spoke graciously to us, but since we did not understand his language we could only make by gestures to the King and his attendants such reverence and honour as seemed fitting, and allowed our letters, which were in Latin, to speak for us. The King caused the letters to be read, and later conversed much with us through an interpreter on many subjects in the Dutch-Brabant speech. We informed the King that we had understood that his Majesty was waging war against the infidel King of Fez, and that we were willing to serve in this war by land or sea. The King heard this very graciously, and told us that he would rely on us, and that at the proper time he would make use of our services, but that we must first remain for some time longer with him at court in order to become acquainted with the lords and nobles, and to see something more of his country. He caused us to be escorted back to our inn, and commanded the lords and nobles to lend us their company, which also happened. And such were the honours and merrymakings that the like can never have been seen by any king or prince. We were also introduced frequently into the apartments of the Queen's ladies, where many beautiful dances were held. Then to the chase, with jumping, wrestling, throwing, fencing, and racing with horses and jennets, and there was also much feasting. It

¹ Alfonso V, called the African. Ehingen brought back his portrait. See below, p. 52. When the Bohemian nobleman Rozmítl was at Lisbon in 1460 the King showed the same solicitude for the travellers. He sent to

them to the inn with the message that he well knew that such journeys entailed tired horses, weary people, and an empty purse, which latter he offered to replenish. *Ritter-Hof- und Pilger-Reise*, Stuttgart, 1843, p. 182.

was indeed delightful to be there. The King was named Alfonso. He was a handsome, well-grown prince, the most Christian, the worthiest, and most righteous King I have ever known. He kept also a regal court, and had with him two margraves and many counts and lords and knights, as well as beautiful women without number. We exercised ourselves in the same manner with knightly sports, on horseback and on foot, with jousting, and tourneys in full armour, since the King took great pleasure in such pastimes. My companion was the strongest in throwing the stone and iron bar, the latter being not light but very weighty, for he was a tall and powerful man, and no one could surpass him in throwing the great stone or at wrestling on horseback or on foot. I was particularly diligent in the combats in armour, for therein I was more skilful than my companion.

The kingdom is noted for its knighthood, which comprises many noble, worthy, and respected personages. The country is also well built, and the best and sweetest fruits grow there, grapes, corn, oil, sugar, and there is also much salt. We were carried about the kingdom, near and far, to beautiful towns, castles and monasteries, and particularly to one monastery, the most beautiful I have ever seen. It belongs to the Dominican Order, and the Kings of Portugal are buried there. The monastery is called the Monastery of the Battle,¹ since many years ago a King of Portugal won a battle there against the Spaniards.

About this time an urgent message arrived for the King from Africa, from the chief captain at Ceuta,² reporting that the infidel King of Fez, assisted by other African kings, was mobilizing and

¹ The Monastery of Santa Maria da Victoria or Batalha, 8 miles south of Leiria, owes its name to the battle fought not far away in 1385, in which John I of Portugal defeated John I of Castile and secured the independence of his kingdom. In size and beauty it is very remarkable. The founder's chapel contains the tombs of John I (d. 1433), Philippa of Lancaster (d. 1416), his Queen, and Prince Henry whom we call the Navigator (d. 1460). The monastery was founded in 1388. Plans and masons were procured from England by Queen Philippa, and the royal cloisters, the church, and the founder's chapel all show English influence. The

place is now secularized and is preserved as a national monument.

² Ceuta had been captured by the Portuguese in 1415. 'The fall of Ceuta struck a resounding blow through Europe. It drove the Moors from their own most threatening stronghold, smoothed the way for African trade, and led to the immense developments of the most glorious age of Portugal's colonial history' (Wylie, *Reign of Henry the Fifth*, Cambridge, 1914, vol. i, p. 451). The Chronicle of Ceuta in *The Chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eannes de Zurara*, by Edgar Prestage, Watford, 1928, pp. 69 ff., tells the story of the capture.

preparing for war, and was intending to march against Ceuta with a great army, to the end that he might conquer it and take it again into his hands. The King sent for us and told us the news. Whereupon we begged his Majesty to fit us out to fight against the infidel, which he did most graciously. He gave each of us a strong jennet, and to each of our attendants a suit of tilting-armour called *brigandin*, and orders were given for a great company from the court and elsewhere to set out for Ceuta.¹ When we were once on the sea we were shipped quickly from Portugal to Africa, for at that place the sea is narrow. On the night when we arrived at Ceuta in the great town, the whole company assembled in a vast square with armour and weapons at hand, and that night many messages were received, reporting that the infidels were approaching in great numbers. But although by day and night we heard the noise of many troops, and could see them before the town, the main army had not yet arrived. On the fourth day, when the commander and chief captain had manned the forts and divided the town into quarters, I was appointed by him to be captain over one quarter, and was given a company of able men, among whom were many who could speak and understand the Low German tongue. Orders were given that each commander and captain of horse should fly a flag bearing his arms above his quarter of the town, and accordingly I gave the necessary directions and flew my flag. But on the fourth day, as before mentioned, the chief captain sent for me and my companions and asked us to sail with him and other experienced soldiers, and embark on the

¹ It is not possible to date this expedition with any certainty. Ruy de Pina in his *Chronica do Rey Affonso V* (*Colleccão de livros ineditos de História Portugueza*, vol. i, p. 463, cap. 138) gives the date of the setting out of Alfonso's African expedition as Saturday, the last day of September 1457. Duarte Nunes de Leão (*Cronicas del Rey Dom João . . . D. Duarte . . . e D. Affonso V*, vol. ii, p. 229) gives the date as the last Saturday of September 1458. As regards the main expedition the latter date is probably correct, since Alfonso had planned a Crusade against the Turks, but on the death of Pope Calixtus III (6 August 1458) his plans were changed, and he turned his attentions to Africa. Ruy

de Pina tells us, however, that before this the King had sent certain gentlemen to succour Ceuta, which was threatened by the King of Fez, with the assurance that he would follow in person, 'but this plan was not carried out, because the King of Fez did no more than take a look at Ceuta'. It was probably in this preliminary expedition that Ehingen distinguished himself, but it must be remembered that he was seven months at Ceuta (p. 36), and that he fought with the forces of Henry IV of Castile before Granada, and received the Order of the Escama for his services by September 1457 (note 1, p. 39). Here as elsewhere Ehingen's dates are a nightmare.

sea to spy out and take count of the infidel troops who were camped by the sea-shore. We sailed accordingly and approached as near as might be to the infidels. But we beheld such a countless host of horsemen and footmen that the captain and the other lords were of opinion that we could not estimate the numbers to within 20,000. It was therefore resolved to count the tents and see how many there might be, so that those who were familiar with the habits of the infidels might judge of the size of the army. And it was resolved and considered that there were 10,000 tents, from which countless numbers might be estimated. We nevertheless decided that if all the infidels in the world were to march against us we would remain, dead or alive, in the town. We therefore returned to Ceuta, and agreed that next morning, very early, we would all assemble in the temple with our companies. This had been a fine, large, heathen temple, but it was now a beautiful Christian minster, and we resolved to partake of the Holy Sacrament, and the greater number among us did so.

Now it should be known that Ceuta is a great and broad town, and three parts of it face the land, and one part lies on the water, and in my judgement it is larger than Cologne. On the land side are dry ditches, in which a citadel had been erected with a number of separate towers, provided with embrasures below and protected above with tin, and surrounded on the town side by a wall. This citadel with its towers was well manned and divided into quarters, for it was very spacious. The captain was stationed there with a vast number of light horsemen, while a host of the ablest footmen had been placed between the citadel and the wall, with orders, if need arose, to spring mines and proceed as they might be directed, which indeed they did very well.

When we were all in church, as before mentioned, at sunrise, the watchers on the towers gave warning and cried aloud that the infidels were drawing near in great numbers. At this each man seized his weapon. Then we saw the infidels crossing a mountain which lay in front of the town, and, indeed, the whole mountain seemed to be covered with men. We shot at them with our bombards [Stainbüchsen], which were the best we could employ at the moment. But they drew near to the ditches, being armed with hand-bows and

curious long crossbows, and other weapons. They assailed us with these and with bombards [Stainbüchsen], and shot at us all that day whenever any one exposed himself, and while they engaged us, they set the main army in array. They had also many drums, great and small, and strange horns, and banners and flags without number. Thus we fought all day, and many of the infidels were shot, and we also had many wounded, for the enemy approached quite close to us into the ditches. The night was even more disturbed, for then they came closer still, with long wooden implements and spiked helmets, axes, lanterns, and shields, and bucklers called *rundella*.

When the Portuguese King was informed of the serious nature of the attack, he proposed to come in person and to ride into Ceuta with all his forces, with intent to attack the infidels from the town and to fall upon their armies, for it was not possible to engage them in any other way. When the infidels learnt of this they stormed us for three days in succession, commencing at day-break and continuing into the night. Then, indeed, there was much labour on both sides, and although countless numbers of infidels were shot and thrown down about the town, in the ditches and by the walls, it happened also frequently that the Christians were repulsed by the attacks when the captain was not ready with his counter-attack, and we were therefore in difficulties. But when the infidels had assailed us for three days, as before mentioned, and had lost an extraordinary number of men, an evil stink arose from the dead bodies, and they ceased their attacks and withdrew.

Then we prepared ourselves with 400 horses and 1,000 footmen, the best that we had, and followed after them. The infidels turned frequently and skirmished with us for so long until we had seized one of the mountains. The infidels then occupied another mountain, and between us was a fine level plain. And when evening came on, certain of our men drew near and reported that a mighty man among the infidels desired to engage in combat with a Christian in the plain between the two hills. Then I begged the captain that he would send me, for I was well arrayed and very apt in tilting-armour. I had also a strong jennet which the King had presented to me. The captain consented and caused the signal to be blown to cease fighting, and the hosts reassembled. Then I made a cross with my spear, and hold-

ing it in front of me I rode from our army towards the infidels across the valley, and when the infidels saw this they returned also to their armies. Our captain also sent out a trumpeter towards the infidels, who blew a blast and gave the signal. Then, very speedily, one of the infidels appeared, riding across the plain on a fine Barbary steed. I did not delay, but rode at once to meet him. The infidel threw his shield in front of him, and laying his spear on his arm he ran swiftly at me, uttering a cry. I approached, having my spear at the thigh, but as I drew near I couched my spear and thrust at his shield, and although he struck at me with his spear in the flank and forearm, I was able to give him such a mighty thrust that horse and man fell to the ground. But his spear hung in my armour and hindered me, and I had great difficulty in loosing it and alighting from my horse. By this time he also was dismounted. I had my sword in my hand; he likewise seized his sword, and we advanced and gave each other a mighty blow. The infidel had excellent armour, and although I struck him by the shield he received no injury. Nor did his blows injure me. We then gripped each other and wrestled so long that we fell to the ground side by side. But the infidel was a man of amazing strength. He tore himself from my grasp, and we both raised our bodies until we were kneeling side by side. I then thrust him from me with my left hand in order to be able to strike at him with my sword, and this I was able to do, for with the thrust his body was so far removed that I was able to cut at his face, and although the blow was not wholly successful, I wounded him so that he swayed and was half-blinded. I then struck him a direct blow in the face and hurled him to the ground, and falling upon him I thrust my sword through his throat, after which I rose to my feet, took his sword, and returned to my horse. The two beasts were standing side by side. They had been worked hard the whole day, and were quite quiet.¹

¹ It is interesting to have a corroboration of this story in the travels of the Nuremberg doctor, Hieronymus Münzer, who was at Lisbon in 1494. He says that the encounter took place in 1458, *Itinerarium, 1494-5*, ed. by L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique*, xlvi (1920), pp. 89-90. 'In the year 1458 there rose the King of Fes, the King of Tunis, and the King of Oran, coming with more than

40,000 men to Ceuta, which they wished to retake. Being unarmed [*inermes*] and coming with many shields of the bark of oaks called *Zockelholz* to the wall like flocks of sheep, they accomplished nothing. However, in the city there were 800 Christians, among them two Almains, one Georgius of Echingen from the province of Würtemberg, made knight in Jerusalem, the other Sir

When the infidels saw that I had conquered they drew off their forces. But the Portuguese and Christians approached and cut off the infidel's head, and took his spear, and placed the head upon it, and removed his armour. It was a costly suit, made in the heathen fashion, very strong and richly ornamented. They took also his shield and horse, and carried me back to the captain, who was beyond all measure delighted, and clasped me in his arms, and there was great joy throughout the whole army. But on that day great numbers of men and horses on both sides were wounded and shot down. The captain commanded that the infidel's head, his horse, shield, and sword should be carried before me, and that the most famous lords and knights with their attendants should follow after. I had to ride with them preceded by a trumpeter, and so they carried me in triumph through the great town of Ceuta. The Christians were all greatly rejoiced, and more honour was shown me than was my due. Almighty God fought for me in that hour, for I was never in greater danger, since the infidel was a very mighty man, and I was conscious that his strength far exceeded my own. God, the Lord, be praised in eternity.

The captain wrote an account of this affair to the King, who received it with particular pleasure. And since there was no more anxiety on account of the infidels, the King desired that I and my companion should return to his court, and we accordingly crossed the sea again to Portugal. We were received by the King beyond all measure well. He presented me with a bowl filled with Portuguese gulden, which bowl I brought back with me to my fatherland. I and my companion had been seven months in the town of Ceuta before we returned to the King in Portugal. During this time there were many knightly enterprises in Africa, wherein I and my companion did our best against the infidels and Moors. When we had remained for a time with the King, and had been much honoured, we travelled

Georius Ramseidner from the Salzburg. And these fighting valiantly, Georgius de Echingen divided with his sword a certain Saracen, a very strongly-armed knight, through the middle and took his sword away from him, leaving another to the Portuguese. Ramseidner, with his subtle mind, making

large jars of semi-baked clay and then filling them with powdered lime and iron triangles called *fuseysen* (horseshoes), he caused them to be cast outside the walls into the midst of the Saracens. Being struck and wounded, the Saracens received great damage.'

to the court of the King's brother. He was a mighty prince and kept a princely court, and his name was Infante Don Fernando.¹ We visited also an elderly prince, who was uncle to both, called Infante Don Aweikuss(?), and he likewise kept his own princely court. We were received by these two princes beyond all measure well, and when we were about to return to the King's court we were most honourably provided for by each of them.

It now happened that King Henry of Spain was about to undertake another expedition against the infidel King of Granada, as had been proposed when we were at the court of the King of France, but the business had been hindered by the plague. We therefore begged leave of the King of Portugal to depart, and informed him that, if God spared our lives, we would return to his court when our mission had been accomplished, which the King also desired of us. He gave us his leave, and we set off for Spain, where we were most courteously received, carrying with us letters from the King of Portugal. These we produced to the King² so that he readily understood in what manner we had come. The King was preparing actively for war,³ and although there was much urgent business at court, certain knightly personages were assigned to us who bore us company and entertained us well. A great company of people on horse and foot had assembled, for trustworthy news had been received that the King of Tunis and other African kings had transported a great army of horsemen and footmen across the sea to Granada. The King of Spain had gathered together as many as 70,000 men under arms, and such an army had never been seen before by any Christian man, wheresoever he may have lived. The knights of the Order of St. James were also with the King, accompanied by an immense following. The Spaniards told us that there were 1,500 jennets or horses with this Order alone. We then marched in good order into the Kingdom of Granada, and wherever we came upon small towns or castles we had to take them by force, for the infidels made stalwart defence, relying on the mighty armies which were gathered together

¹ The Infante Don Fernando died in 1470. The uncle cannot be identified.

² Henry IV of Castile, called the Impotent. Ehingen brought back his portrait. See below, p. 48.

³ It is difficult to fix the date of Henry's various expeditions against the Moors. There was one every year from 1455 to 1457, and an important one in 1458.

in the town of Granada. We had therefore to storm the majority of the towns and castles, and we slew all the infidels. The rank and file had orders also to kill the women and children, which was done. So we drew near to the town of Granada and made all things ready and prepared our armies, for we saw that the infidels, who were in great force in the town, would sally forth to meet us, which also happened. They did not suffer us to approach near to the town, but came out against us with a great host, nevertheless, without advantage to themselves, for we were better provided with artillery and were otherwise well prepared. But certain experienced men and captains of the King were commanded to take particular note of the infidel forces, and to advise themselves as to their condition, and we were both honoured as friends, and attached to them. We had many heavy skirmishes with the infidels for two whole days until we had overthrown them. There were 50,000 infidels, among whom were 30,000 gunners.

When we returned to the main army we were attached to the royal standard, and this was done to honour us. The infidels lay in a valley between us and the town of Granada, so that we could not engage them. We remained for several days thus over against each other, and night and day there were attacks and skirmishes, so that on both sides many were killed. We then passed by Granada through the kingdom, and destroyed and burnt and slew where we could, so that nothing remained standing as we passed, for everything was laid waste. We were a month and some days in the kingdom of Granada. My companion and I acquitted ourselves as best we could, until at last the whole army was gathered before a small town which was well defended and filled with troops. This we took by storm, but we lost many excellent men. I was badly wounded on the shin by an arrow from a sling, and although the wound healed subsequently, it broke out again when I returned to Swabia, and I retained until my old age a hole in the shin and a flux.

After these happenings we all returned to Spain, and remained two months at the court of the King. We were much honoured with feasting, dancing, hunting, horse-racing, and such-like pastimes. After two months we took leave of the King in order to return to the King of Portugal, and were most graciously dispatched. The King

gave us both his Orders, namely the Spanish Order, which is a broad collar overlapping like large fish-scales,¹ also the Order of Castile, a scarlet cloak with a gold band, two thumbs breadth, over the left shoulder, running in front on the right side down to the bottom of the cloak, and then at the back of the cloak running up again to the left shoulder. The third Order is that of Granada, a granite apple set on a club, with a stalk and some leaves upon it. The King gave us also 300 ducats, and to each of us a fine jennet. So we took our leave most honourably and serviceably from the Christian King Henry, in the year, as one counts from the birth of our Lord, 1457.

Item. We came once more to Portugal.

Item. War then broke out in Germany.

Item. When the King [of Portugal] dismissed us² he presented us with a cloth of gold worth 200 ducats. Item, a piece of crimson satin and 100 ells of black satin: also to each of us a Portuguese stallion and 300 ducats for the journey. He desired particularly that we should return to him.

Item. We travelled through Portugal and Spain, and when we came to a great town called Saragossa, we sold the gold cloth and some of the satin, which was not necessary to us for clothes, and realized 500 ducats.

Item. We travelled through Spain and France, and on the way we sold certain of our heavy horses, for the way is long. In France we took ship and travelled to the King of England.³ The King gave us

¹ The Order of the Escama seems to have been founded by John II of Castile in 1420 to attract nobles and vassals to his standard. The members vowed to defend the kingdom against the Moors, to obey the Master, and to die if necessary for the Faith. The grant to Ehingen is dated 5 Sept. 1457. See Appendix, p. 67. The Order of Castile (de la Banda) was founded by Alfonso XI in 1332. See Zedler, *Universal-Lexicon*, vol. iii, p. 317.

² This was apparently in March 1458. See Appendix, p. 67, where a letter of introduction to Alfonso's aunt, Isabella of Burgundy, dated 15 March 1458, is printed.

³ If Ehingen reached England in 1458 he found Henry VI probably in London. See Itinerary in Mabel E. Christie,

Henry VI, 1922, p. 388. The first battle of St. Albans had been fought, and Henry and York were formally reconciled. But the country was very unsettled. 'In this tyme, the reame of Englonde was oute of alle good governaunce, as it had be meny dayes before, for the Kyng was simple and lad by covetous counseylle, and owed more then he was worthe. His dettes encreased dayly, but payement was there none; alle the possessyons and lordeshyppes that perteyned to the croune the Kyng had yeve awey, some to lordes and some to other simple personnes, so that he had almoste noughe to lefe onne. And suche ympositiones as were put to the peple, as taxes, tallages and quynzymes, alle that came from theym was spended on

his Order. My companion then left me, and I travelled to Scotland. The King¹ was my gracious lady's brother, and he received me graciously and well. The Queen was a Duchess of Guelders, and a Low German.

Item. The King presented me with two tents and a cloth of black satin, and to each of my pages he gave ten ducats, there being four pages.

Item. The Queen gave me a fine jewel worth 30 ducats, and a stallion worth quite 100 gulden, and much honour was shown me in hunting, dancing and feasting.

vayne, for he helde no householde, he meyn-
tened no warres. For these mysgovern-
aunces, and for many other, the heretes of the
peple were turned away from thayme that
had the londe in governance, and theyre
blyssyng was turnyd in to cursyng': *An
English Chronicle*, ed. by J. S. Davies, Cam-
den Society, 1856, p. 79. This was written
by a furious Yorkist, but even so we can
perhaps understand why Ehingen says so

little about us and was apparently only too anxious to be gone. He found time, however, to secure a portrait of the King. See below, p. 50.

¹ James II of Scotland. Ehingen brought back his portrait. See below, p. 62. The King had married Mary, daughter of Arnold, Duke of Guelders, on 3 July 1449: Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, 1911, i, p. 185.

THE PORTRAITS

I

LADISLAUS V (*Postumus*), b. 1440; crowned King of Hungary in infancy; King of Bohemia 1453; d. 1457.

LEGEND: *Ladislaus, by God's grace, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Duke of Austria, Margrave of Merbern.*

Ladislaus is represented as a diminutive youth with long flowing locks, clad in a fur-lined cloak and holding a sword which seems much too big for him. The hair is very fair, almost golden. The cap is black and gold. The under-shirt showing above the fur at the neck is crimson with gold fastenings. The cloak is brocade, richly gilded. The shoes are grey. The sword has a gold hilt. The figure stands on a foundation of green and brown.

Ladislaus was the son of Albert II, Emperor, and King of Hungary, and Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Sigismund. Albert died in 1439, and the child was born on 22 February 1440, four months after his father's death. The Estates of Hungary had already elected Wladislaus III of Poland their King, but Elizabeth caused the sacred crown of Hungary to be stolen and had the infant crowned at Stuhlweissenburg on 15 May 1440. The story of the theft of the crown and the subsequent coronation is related in the diary of Helene Kottanner, one of Elizabeth's waiting-women. The MS. is preserved in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna (No. 2920) and was printed by Stephan Endlicher in 1846 at Leipzig under the title, *Aus den Denkwürdigkeiten der Helene Kottannerin*. The diary forms the subject of one of Freytag's well-known *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit* (vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit: ch. 10, Eine deutsche Frau am Fürstenhofe). There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the diary.

It is an exciting story. According to Helene Kottanner, the crown, after Albert's death, was taken from its chest in the vaults of the castle of Visegrad, not far from Budapest, and inspected in the presence of Elizabeth and certain Hungarian nobles, but having been nearly destroyed by fire, it was again deposited in the vaults at Visegrad, the doors being sealed by the Hungarian nobles with many seals. The castle was then placed in the charge of Elizabeth's cousin, who wished her to marry the King of Poland. The Queen was afraid to give birth to her child at Visegrad, for she had been advised by her

150
Ladislaus vō gotter-
gnaden · König zu
hüngern vō zu Bo-
hmen · Herrscher zu
Ostreich · Mar-
kgraf vō
Urrheru:



LADISLAUS V

physicians that she would bear a son, and she feared that the child might be taken from her. She therefore withdrew to Komorn and deliberated how best to obtain possession of the crown, without which no coronation was valid. She discussed the matter with her kinsmen and friends, and finally Helene Kottanner was asked to undertake the theft. Such was the woman's devotion to her mistress that she agreed readily, although she knew that she was risking her life, but when one of the court servants was called in to assist, the man almost died of fright and fled to Croatia. At last, however, a man was found who was willing to help, and he and the woman departed for Visegrad with keys and files, the pretext for the visit being that Elizabeth desired certain of her women to join her. Fortunately the custodian of the castle, whose practice it was to have his bed made up by the door of the vault, was ill, and had to content himself with binding a linen cloth about the lock which he secured with his seal. At night Helene Kottanner, with the man and a companion to help him, opened the outer door with the keys they had brought, removed the cloth and seal, and commenced to file the locks of the inner doors. There was a great deal of noise, and as it was ultimately found necessary to burn the wood into which the locks were fastened, the whole place was filled with smoke, and detection seemed certain. Twice they heard footsteps approaching the outer door and thought that all was lost, but the watchman departed without noticing anything amiss, and finally the crown was secured. The doors were made fast with fresh locks and the linen cloth was bound round the lock of the outer door and sealed with the Queen's seal.

The crown was now concealed in a bolster, and the next day the return journey commenced. There could be no undue haste lest suspicion should be aroused. The Queen's women had to be collected, Mass had to be heard, and it was well into the day before the sledges were packed and ready. Helene Kottanner had charge of the bolster, taking care not to sit upon the sacred crown, but when they came to the Danube, which was frozen over, the ice was so thin that one of the sledges broke through and turned over in the dark. For a time it seemed as if they would all be swallowed up with the sacred crown in the waters of the Danube. Many of their possessions disappeared, but the bolster was secured, and the journey to Komorn proceeded

without further excitement. Within a few hours of their arrival Ladislaus was born.

The Hungarian kings had to be crowned at Stuhlweissenburg on a Feast day by the Archbishop of Gran. There was no time to be lost, as Whitsuntide was approaching, and the King of Poland was on his way to Budapest. Helene Kottanner cut out a miniature robe from one of the Emperor Sigismund's vestments and made the stole, alb, shoes and gloves, and hid them secretly in a chapel behind locked doors. Just before Whitsun the Queen with the baby and a guard, and the sacred crown hidden in the cradle, set out on the two day's journey to Stuhlweissenburg. They had to cross the Danube again and traverse mountains. A part of the way lay through woods and over marshes, in a hostile country where the soldiers had to beat the bushes and woods for enemies before the party could proceed. Stuhlweissenburg was reached on Whitsun eve, and on the following day, in the presence of a great crowd, the baby was crowned and anointed and then carried in procession through the town with the crown held over his head. The King, we are told, had little pleasure in his coronation, but cried with a loud voice so that his cries could be heard all over the church.

His subsequent history can be soon told. The child passed into the care of his maternal grandfather, the Count of Cilly, who corrupted him body and soul. On 28 October 1453 he was crowned King of Bohemia and thereafter spent most of his time at Prague or Vienna. He neglected the Turkish peril and did his best to hinder the defensive preparations made by Hunyadi. He died on 23 November 1457, at the age of 17, during the preparations for his marriage with Magdalena, daughter of Charles VII of France. He is supposed to have been poisoned. His death caused great consternation in France. Fabyan tells us that on hearing the news Charles 'toke such a pensyfenesse that he dyed shortly after' (*Chronicles*, ed. Ellis, 1811, p. 643), and Magdalena, apparently, could never forgive the Bohemian people whom she blamed for the young king's death. When the Bohemian nobleman Rozmital was at the French court in 1466 he inquired for her, 'but when she learnt that my lord was a Bohemian and brother to the Queen she would not receive him. The next day we saw her at church, but she would not make any reverence to my lord except to

nod with her head. Formerly, when Bohemians had come to her in the town, and had set up their escutcheons, it was said that she had ordered them to be torn in pieces and covered with filth. It was said also that this same lady was never seen to smile after the death of King Ladislaus. She is ungainly, of moderate height, and somewhat brown under the eyes. It is said that she is not so beautiful by one half as when she was betrothed to King Ladislaus.' (*Ritter-Hof- und Pilger-Reise*, Lit. Verein in Stuttgart, 1843, p. 164. Compare Mrs. Henry Cust, *Gentlemen Errant*, 1909, p. 55.)

CHARLES VII OF FRANCE, b. 1403, crowned at Rheims 1429,
d. 1461.

LEGEND: *Karolus, by God's grace, King of France.*

Charles is represented as a rather forbidding-looking person with black hair and a pallid complexion. He wears a hat of purple with a streamer of the same colour. The jacket is dark brown, but a green undergarment is visible at the wrists, and the collar is green. Above the jacket at the neck a white shirt can be seen. He wears dark-green hose and black boots with brown linings. The girdle is silver and the sword-hilt is gold and red. The figure stands on a foundation of green and brown. The prevailing green is interesting in view of Basin's statement (see below) that the King affected this colour, but there is no hint of his knock-knees.

Charles VII assumed the reins of government as early as 1418, but his authority was paralysed by the murder of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, in his presence at Montereau. He was disinherited by the Treaty of Troyes and retired to Bourges, while the Armagnacs and Burgundians fought for the possession of Paris and devastated northern France. He was crowned at Rheims by Joan of Arc, and lived to see the end of the Hundred Years War, and the English with no possessions in France except Calais.

Chastellain's eulogy of Charles is well known. It can be read in English in Joan Evans, *Mediaeval France*, Oxford, 1925, p. 192. The following is from Hall's *Chronicle*, 1809, p. 249:

Aboute this very season, and during this unnaturall controversy within the realme of Englande, Charles the Frenche kyng, whiche only by trouble and calamitie gat to him a perpetual name, and emongest his nacion above the sterres exalted, ended the poynt of his fatall fine, whiche Prince in his youth never regarded wanton pastyme, nor lascivious dalliaunce, for his wittes were set, and his industrie onely applied, to recover again his paternall patrimony and Princely inheritaunce: So that more plainley then in a mirror, all menne maie perceive that pain often profiteth and labor commonly availeth, but idlenesse sildome and dalliaunce never.

According to Basin, *Charles VII et Louis XI*, ed. by Quicherat (Soc. de l'Histoire de France), Paris, 1855, vol. i, p. 312:

charolus von gottes-
genaden künig von
franckreich



CHARLES VII OF FRANCE

King Charles was of medium stature and of good countenance, comely enough, with shoulders of equal height, but with shins and legs thinner and more slender than usual. When clothed in his toga he appeared of a sufficiently elegant figure, but when he put on a short robe, as he frequently did, using a cloth of green colour, this thinness of leg and shin showed him like one deformed with the swelling of both knees and their bending, as it were, towards each other in turn. He was sufficiently temperate in food and drink, a thing most conducive to the preservation of health. Indeed, rarely was he indisposed, because he observed jealously enough the daily diet prescribed for him by the physicians.

HENRY IV, 'THE IMPOTENT', OF CASTILE, b. 1425; ascended the throne, 1454; d. 1474.

LEGEND: *Hainrich, by God's grace, King of Castilia and of Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Sevillia, Cordua, Mortza, Jaen, Algarbe, Algezira, Lord of Wisgeia, Mollina.*

Henry is represented in an outlandish costume, a black cloak, slashed to show his linen, red cap, and yellow shoes, just such a figure as caused the French courtiers to mock and deride him at his meeting with Louis XI at Fuenterrabia in 1463 (De Commynes, *Mémoires*, Bk. II, ch. viii). He stands on a foundation of green and brown. The following description is from the chronicler Alfonso de Palencia (Spanish translation by A. Paz y Mélia, Madrid, 1904-15, Bk. I, ch. ii):

Don Enrique . . . always wore clothes of lugubrious aspect, unadorned by any chain or distinctive royal or military insignia. His legs were clad in rough leggings, and his feet shod with any ordinary, worn-out, old shoes, plainly showing his state of mind to all beholders. He likewise disdained all royal pomp in riding . . . Resplendent arms, ornaments, horse-trappings, or any mark of greatness he held in complete contempt. He grasped the shield more willingly than the sceptre, and his gloomy character made him shun the haunts of men. He loved the darkness of the woods, and sought rest only in the thickest of these. There he ordered inaccessible retreats to be surrounded with costly walls, and edifices to be built suitable for his residence and amusement. In these he kept collections of wild beasts gathered from every part. To take care of these, and to keep people away, he choose rough and ferocious men who, while he shut himself up there with various lewd companions, guarded the cross-roads, armed and on horse-back, putting to flight all those who wished to pay duty to the King or treat of any business with him. . . . This affection for wild rusticity was clearly imprinted on his countenance. His fierce eyes, of a colour which in itself denoted cruelty, had an ever-restless glance, and by their excessive mobility revealed suspicion or menace. His nose, which was flat and deformed, having been broken in the middle in consequence of a fall in childhood, gave him a great resemblance to a monkey; his thin lips lent no grace to his mouth, and his face was made ugly by the wide cheek-bones and long prominent chin, so that in profile the face appeared concave, as if something had been wrenched from the centre. The rest of his person was that of a perfectly shaped man, and though he always covered his beautiful hair with ugly caps or some other unseemly hood or head-gear, the whiteness of his skin, and the fairness of his hair made up for

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· g. a. l. i. a. s. e. u. l. l. i. a .
· c. e. d. u. a. m. o. r. t. a .
· j. a. u. a. l. g. a. r. b. e .
· a. l. g. e. r. i. a. a. l. h. e. r .
· v. o. u. v. i. l. g. e. r .
· u. l. l. i. n. a .



HENRY IV OF CASTILE

the lines of his face. He was tall of stature, with well-proportioned legs and feet, but, as I have said, he disfigured himself by his disgraceful dress and slovenly shoes. . . . All agreeable odours were distasteful to him; on the contrary he breathed with delight the reek of corruption, the stench of the paring of horses' hoofs and burning hides, and even other more disgusting odours. His numerous inclinations were of this kind, so that by the sense of smell one may judge of the rest.

The Bohemian nobleman Rozmital had two audiences with Henry IV in 1466. On both occasions the King received his visitors seated on the ground 'in heathen fashion'. The chronicler adds: 'The old King has many people at his court and has driven out many Christians and handed over their lands to the infidels. He eats, drinks, is clothed, and prays after the manner of the heathen, and is an enemy to the Christians. He has committed great wickedness and follows unchristian practices. . . . The Queen . . . is a brown and beautiful woman, but the King is her enemy and does not lie with her. Therefore she is estranged from the King, for it is said that he is unable to have anything to do with her.' (*Ritter-Hof- und Pilger-Reise*, Lit. Verein in Stuttgart, 1843, pp. 171-2. Compare Mrs. Henry Cust, *Gentlemen Errant*, 1909, pp. 71-3.)

It cannot now be known whether Henry IV merited the title of 'impotent' in every sense of the word. His so-called daughter, Juana 'the Beltraneja', may or may not have been legitimate, the king having sworn both that he was, and was not, the father, but she was branded as a bastard, and Castile passed to Henry's sister Isabella, and by her marriage with Ferdinand in 1469 it was united to the crown of Aragon. The kind of story which was circulated concerning Henry IV can be read in the travels of the Nuremberg doctor H. Münzer (*Revue Hispanique*, vol. xlviii, No. 113 (1920), p. 125. See also *Histoire secrète des amours de Henri IV, roi de Castille*, Paris, 1695).

HENRY VI OF ENGLAND, b. 6 Dec. 1421; ascended the throne, 1422; d. 1471.

LEGEND: *Hainrich, by God's grace, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland.*

Henry has black hair, and is unarmed. He wears a hat of purple with a streamer of the same colour. The collar is crimson with white linen showing at the neck. The cloak is light blue with a crimson girdle with a gold buckle, from which hangs a pendant of gold. The shoes are black. The figure stands on a foundation of green and brown.

The portrait of Henry as a comparatively young man confirms the suggestion of piety, hesitancy, and weakness which were his characteristics. The small mouth, long and slightly aquiline nose, and protruding underlip are strongly marked, and the hands when compared with those in the other portraits are curiously weak and nervous. The portrait is an important addition to the three contemporary pictures which have been preserved. The first at King's College, Cambridge, represents the King as a young man, the National Gallery portrait shows him in middle life, and in the portrait in the royal collection at Windsor he appears as a comparatively old man. All three are reproduced in *Henry VI* by Mabel E. Christie, London, 1922. Ehingen's portrait shows him as a man of about 37, clad in bright-coloured clothes. This is not in accordance with what we know of his habits, nor is the dress confirmed by the other portraits, which represent him in what was presumably his usual attire: a dark tunic with bands of ermine over the shoulders and round the neck, dark red sleeves, a gold collar, and on the head a close-fitting dark cap. Blacman in his *Memoir* tells us that the King always wore round-toed shoes like a farmer's, and that his customary dress was 'a long gown with a rolled hood like a townsman, and a full coat reaching below his knees, with shoes, boots, and foot-gear wholly black', and that he rejected expressly all curious fashion of clothing. *Blacman's Memoir*, translated and edited by M. R. James, Cambridge, 1919, p. 36. The round-toed shoes are confirmed in Ehingen's portrait, but for the rest the artist seems to have allowed himself some latitude with his colours. The

z h a n r i c h · v o n · g o t t e s ·
· g e n a d e n · k ü n g · v o n ·
· e n g e l l a u d · v u d · z ü ·
· f r a n k r i c h · h e r · z ü ·
· w l a u d e u



HENRY VI OF ENGLAND

following is from *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History*, edited by Sir Henry Ellis, Camden Society, 1844, pp. 156-7:

King Henry raignyd xxxviii^{te} yeres, and, after he receavyd the kingdome agane, vi monthes: he lyvyd lii yeres. He begot of quene Margaret Edward his onely soone, prince of Wales. He was taule of stature, slender of body, wherunto all his members wer proportionably correspondent: he was of coomly vysage, wherin did glister contynually that bowntefulnes of disposition wherwith he was abundantly endewyd. He dyd of his owne naturall inclynation abhorre all vices both of body and mynde, by reason wherof he was of honest conversation eaven from a chylde, pure and clene, partaken of none evell, ready to conceave all that was good, a contemner of all those thinges whiche commonly corrupt the myndes of men, so patient also in suffering of injuryes, receavyd now and then, as that he covetyd in his hart no revenge, but for the very same gave God Almighty most humble thankes, because therby he thowght his sinnes to be wasshyd away; yea, what shalle we say, that this good, gratiouſ, holy, sober, and wyſe man, wold affirme all these myſeries to have happenyd unto him both for his owne and his ancestors manyfold offences; wherfor he dyd not muche account what dignitie, what honor, what ſtate of lyfe, what ſoone, what frinds he had lost, nor made muche dole for the ſame; but yf in any thing he had offendyd God, that had he regard of, that dyd he morne for, that was he ſorry for. These and ſuche lyke actions and offices of parfyte holynes, made, that for his cauſe God shewyd many myracles in his lyfe time. By reaſon whereof king Henry the viith, not without deſert, began a few yeres paſt to procure at the hande of Julius, byſhop of Rome, that he miſt be canonized for a Saynt, but being preventid by hasty death he could not perform that honorable fact. More over, this Henry was of lyberall mynde; he had good learning in great reverence, and loovyd them who wer indewyd therwithall, wherfor he helpyd his owne people that they miſt be instructyd; for he foundyd a ſumpteuous ſchoole at Eton, a towne next unto Wyndesore, in whiche he placyd a colledge of priſtes, and children in great number, ther to be browght upp and taught ther grammer frely and without coſte. The ſame man was alſo fownder of the Kinges colledge at Cambrydge, which ſo floryssheth at this day with thornaments of learning that yt may well bee cawlyd the prince of all colledges.

ALFONSO V, 'THE AFRICAN', OF PORTUGAL, b. 1432; ascended the throne, 1438; d. 1481.

LEGEND: *Afonso, by God's grace, King of Portugal and Zalgarbe, Lord of Sept and Algogiro.*

Alfonso is presented as a young man, of slight build and pleasant countenance. There is no sign of the corpulence which overtook him in later life, nor of the beard spoken of by the chronicler de Pina, but when Ehingen saw him he was only 25. He has black hair. The hat, coat, and hose are also black, the shoes black with brown linings. The sword case is black with gilt tip. He wears a rich gold necklace and stands on a green foundation.

The following is from the chronicle of Ruy de Pina in *Collecção de livros inéditos de Historia Portugueza*, Lisbon, 1790, vol. i, p. 607, ch. ccxiii:

The King Dom Afonso was a prince of tall rather than middle stature, and in all his limbs well-made and in good proportion, save that in his latter days he was a little overburdened with flesh, to conceal which he was wont to wear loose garments. He had a round face with a strong black beard, and all his body was very hairy save his head, for he began to grow bald as soon as he was thirty years old. He was a prince of most gracious presence, great humanity, and very soft-spoken, but he carried this to such extremes that for a great king it was scarcely to be praised, because the great familiarity which he permitted was contrary to his dignity and royal estate. . . . He had a very good memory and ripe understanding, and a subtle wit, and was rather remiss than prompt in grave undertakings. Especially was he so in doing justice against the great, for he preferred to conceal or deal gently in such cases, rather than to act vigorously, which was due to his great humanity and to his desire for the tranquillity of the realm. His speech was well-chosen and his voice most charming. In writing he did as well by nature as though he had received long training and was experienced in the art of oratory. He was a lover of justice and learning, and paid great honour to the learned. He was the first king of these realms who collected good books and formed a library in his palace. He was also the first king who made himself a familiar sight to all in the public places of the cities and towns of his kingdoms. . . . He had so much confidence in his own judgement that he would with difficulty let his will be crossed by the counsel of others, especially in the matter of the war against the Moors, to which he was so eagerly inclined that his wishes seemed

Alfonso von Gotts-
genaden künge
zu portugal vnd
salgaeben cher zu
scpt vnd zu al
geguro



ALFONSO V OF PORTUGAL

to him to be urgent reasons. He was a very Catholic prince and a friend of God, and very fervent in faith. . . . He was well-regulated in eating, and drinking, and sleeping, and above all of most praiseworthy continence. . . . In such bodily labours as came his way, or which he undertook for his pleasure, he was in no way delicate, but rather bore them as well as any strong man who had been brought up to them. . . . He was seldom angry, and there were few things that could move him to wrath, and even in these, unless conscience forbade it, he was quick to pardon. And being a most courageous and stout-hearted prince, he was ever eager to undertake some arduous enterprise, to be achieved by arms as became a knight, rather than to busy himself as king in the civil and political government of his kingdom. He lived forty-nine years, of which he was king for forty-three.

It is interesting to note that Alfonso V was a grandson of Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, who married John I of Portugal. There were eight children of the marriage. Of these, Prince Henry, whom we call the Navigator, is probably the best known. Isabella, the only surviving daughter, married Philip the Good of Burgundy. Ferdinand, 'the Constant Prince', was left behind in Africa as a hostage for the surrender of Ceuta after the defeat of the Portuguese by the Moors at Tangier in 1437, and died in captivity. Edward (Duarte) succeeded his father, but died in 1438 of a broken heart as a result of the Portuguese reverses in Africa, leaving Alfonso, a child of seven, heir to the throne.

Alfonso had two ambitions, to obtain the crown of Castile and to wipe out the disgrace of the defeat at Tangier, neither of which was realized. He took steps to marry the so-called daughter of Henry IV of Castile and claimed the kingdom in her name, but he was defeated by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1476, and his would-be bride was relegated to a convent. His African expeditions gained him the title of 'the African', but he left his country oppressed and the crown impoverished, and had he not died he would probably have been deposed.

We have a description of a visit paid to the court of Alfonso in 1466 by the Bohemian nobleman, Rozmital. The King, who was then ill, was not easy to see or approach, 'for when the sun was up he lay indoors, and when the sun had gone to rest he rode abroad with his counts and lords until after midnight. Their clothes and appearance are after the Spanish and infidel fashion. The King had boots to the

knee; his sword was hung about his neck by a broad band, and his mantel flung over the shoulder as is customary in the country. He rode and walked with difficulty, for he was unwell at that time.' (*Ritter-Hof- und Pilger-Reise*, Lit. Verein in Stuttgart, 1843, p. 183. Compare Mrs. Henry Cust, *Gentlemen Errant*, 1903, p. 79.)

JANUS III (MISCALLED PHILIP) OF CYPRUS. Succeeded 1432;
d. 1458.

LEGEND: *Philip, by God's grace, King of Cyprus.*

The King is represented as a tall obese man with bulging eyes, loose mouth, black hair, and very fat legs. He is clad entirely in black, except for the shoes which show brown linings. The sword-case has a gilt tip. He wears a rich gold necklace and black hat, and stands on a foundation of green and brown.

This is probably the only portrait of Janus III. The Castilian knight, Pero Tafur, visited Cyprus in 1437 and has left us a description of the king as a young man.

The King, he writes, is a youth of sixteen or seventeen years of age, of great stature. His legs are so fat that they are almost the same size at the garter as at the thigh. He is a gracious man and, considering his age, of excellent understanding. He is very gay and apt with his body, especially in horsemanship. (*Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures*. English translation by Malcolm Letts. Broadway Travellers, 1926, pp. 104-5.)

Janus seems to have been a weak and vicious ruler. His father Janus II had been carried away by the Sultan of Egypt and kept a prisoner for fifteen months. He was ransomed at enormous cost and died shortly after his return from captivity. Janus III left a daughter surviving him, but it was then only a question between Genoa and Venice which should take the island as a derelict. (See Stubbs, *The Medieval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia*, in 'Seventeen Lectures'. Oxford, 1900, pp. 229 ff.)

92
Philip. vō. gots.
·genaden. kün̄g.·
vōu. apern ·



JANUS III OF CYPRUS
(mislabelled Philip)

RENÉ OF ANJOU, b. 1409; d. 1480.

LEGEND: *Renhart (altered to Renatus), by God's grace, King of Sicily and Duke of Calabria.*

René is clad in a black hat and a brown jacket with a black collar, black hose, and black shoes with brown linings. He wears a rich gold necklace and stands on a foundation of green and light brown. His face has a pleasant, restful, almost dreamy, expression as if his misfortunes had troubled him little. Certainly there are few great figures in history in whom the circumstances of fortune are better illustrated. The titular sovereign of half a dozen kingdoms in which he did not possess a foot of land, he was the victim of every kind of misfortune. He was imprisoned in nearly every fortress in Burgundy. He saw all his children die but one, he was poor and a good deal despised by his warlike contemporaries. Yet he contrived to make his court at Angers and Aix an important artistic centre, and was himself a painter and writer of considerable ability. He was greatly beloved of his people and seems to have been endowed with qualities of charity, piety, good humour, and a mild philosophy which neither injustice nor misfortunes could alter. The following is from *The History of Lewis XI*, by P. Mathieu, translated by E. Grimestone, London, 1614, Book 9, p. 53:

A Prince who had great and eminent qualities, worthy of a better fortune: hee was a great Justicer, and an enemy to long dispatches. He said sometimes, when as they presented him any thing to signe, being a hunting, or at the warre, that the Pen was a kinde of Armes, which a Prince should use at all seasons. The reigne of so good a Prince was much lamented; for he entreated his subjects like a Pastor and Father. They say that when as his Treasurers brought unto him the Royall taxe which was sixteene Florins for every fire; wherof Provence might have about three thousand five hundred, hee enformed himselfe of the abundance or barenesse of the season, and when as they told him that a Mestrall winde had reigned long, he remitted the moity and sometimes the whole taxe. Hee contented himselfe with his revenues, and did not charge his people with new tributes. Hee spent his time in painting, the which were so excellent as that they are yet to be seene in the City of Aix; he was drawing of a partridge when as they brought him newes of the losse of the Realme of Naples, yet he would not draw his hand from the worke, such pleasure hee tooke therein.

^{atius}
Renést. vō. gots.
guadeu. kung. vō.
·cealia. zherzog.
·von. kallabria.



RENÉ OF ANJOU

There is an excellent life, *Le Roi René, sa vie, son administration, ses travaux artistiques et littéraires*, by A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1875.

The Bohemian nobleman Rozmítl visited the court of René of Anjou in 1466. The following is the account given by one of his chroniclers, Gabriel Tetzel of Nuremberg:

From there we rode to the King of Sicily and found him in a very fine town called Saumur, the King being then in a pleasure-house in a wood about half-a-mile distant from the town. The house was beyond all measure beautiful and costly and well-built, and everything which my lord desired of the King was granted. The King is an elderly man, but handsome and merry. He showed my lord great honour and allowed him to see his consort who was a lady of middle stature, with the most rare and lovely maids. . . . The King had a dwarf called Tuybelim, who had the smallest head I have ever seen in my life. He wore a cap no larger than a big orange. . . . They then carried my lord . . . to the King's palace. Here a great feast had been spread with a rare side-board and much silver ware, which the King keeps always in his castle, and the most costly food was served to my lord and his attendants, with as much ceremony as if the King had been there himself. On the King's bed was a piece of tapestry which was estimated to be worth 40,000 gulden, and all the apartments were adorned with the rarest tapestries, so that it is not possible to describe them. When we had feasted my lord was shown everything. The King has a passion for birds and strange beasts. We saw numbers of these, as well as goats which had come from heathen parts, with ears more than three spans long. We saw also two great lions, two leopards, two ostriches, and very many other strange creatures. Item, the King is well-disposed to the Germans and has many Germans at his court. He speaks German well.

(*Ritter-Hof- und Pilger-Reise*, 1466-7, Lit. Verein in Stuttgart, 1843, pp. 161 ff. Compare Mrs. Henry Cust, *Gentlemen Errant*, 1909, pp. 52-3.)

JOHN II OF NAVARRE AND ARAGON, b. 1397; ascended the throne of Navarre with his wife Blanche, 1425; of Aragon, 1458; d. 1479.

LEGEND: *Hans, by God's grace, King of Navarre and of Aragon, Duke of Venion and of Munblanck, Count of Ribbagorsa, Lord of the town of Baleager.*

John has black hair and is clad in a long brown cloak, reaching to his feet, with a red collar. The shoes are black. The sword-case is black with a gold tip. He wears a heavy gold chain round the neck. The figure stands on a green and brown foundation.

The king appears to be a much younger man than would have been expected, for if Ehingen was in Navarre in 1457 John must have been 58 or 59. It is possible that Ehingen obtained a sketch of the king as a young man and had it worked up afterwards into a finished portrait.

The following description is from *Historia Pontifical y Catholica, &c.*, by Gonçalo de Illescas, Barcelona, 1602, vol. ii, p. 95:

The king John . . . was a man of middle stature, very well made, and very handsome, though his nose was a little flat, which gave him rather a nasal intonation. His skin was extraordinarily white, as we see in all our kings who are his descendants. He had the most beautiful hands that can be imagined, so much so that they were coveted by the most delicate ladies who were moved to envy at the sight of them. His hair was red and hung straight down, his eyes were black and beautiful. He was always very healthy, for he ate little and worked much, and kept himself scrupulously clean and adorned. He never wore anything but silk or brocade with a chain of gold or pearls about his neck, and it was his wish that his servants should always go richly clad.

It has been suggested (*Annales archéologiques*, 1855, vol. 15, p. 107) that the Stuttgart drawing is not a portrait of John at all, but in fact presents Charles of Viana, John's son, who in 1457 (in his absence) was proclaimed King of Navarre after he had been disinherited by his father. This view, however, does not seem to be sound, for contemporary records show that Charles was absent from Navarre from 1457 to 1460. (See Quintana's 'Life of Charles of Viana' in *Vidas de los Españoles célebres*, Madrid, 1807, vol. i, p. 156, and a letter from



·hans·von·guttas·
·guatru·künig·vō·
·nauen·vnd·von·
·arrogon·herzog·
·vou·venion·
·vnd·vō·vnuiland·
·grif·vō·ribbiger·
·si·cher·der·stat·
·ballager·

JOHN II OF NAVARRE

Charles dated Naples, 28 April 1457, printed in Aleson, *Annales del Reyno de Navarra*, vol. iv, p. 543.) John, however, was certainly in Navarre in 1457, for the letter disinheriting Charles and his sister Blanche is dated Estella, 12 January 1457. The documents as a whole are printed in *Colección de Doc. inéditos para la Historia de España* (Documentos relativos á los reinos de Navarra, Castilla y Aragón durante la segunda mitad del siglo xv), vols. 39, 40, 41, 42.

Portraits of John and Charles of Viana are given in Carderera y Solano, *Iconografía Española*, Madrid, 1855-64, plates xlvi and xlvii. John is represented as a much older man, and if there is not much resemblance between this portrait and Ehingen's, there is no resemblance at all between the portrait of Charles of Viana and the Stuttgart drawing. The difficulty arises from the fact that the date of Ehingen's visit cannot be definitely fixed, but he tells us that he was received by the King of Navarre who was called John, and there seems to be no adequate reason for doubting his statement. It must be remembered that Ehingen spent two months at his court (p. 29).

John II was an unscrupulous man of unbounded energy and great force of character. On the death of John's wife Blanche of Navarre, Charles of Viana became legally entitled to the crown with remainder to his sister Blanche, although Charles was not to assume the title of king while his father, John, was alive. Yet John spent many years in bitter struggle with his son, and on the death of the latter in 1461 the father was suspected of having poisoned him. When John died in 1479 his son Ferdinand was married to Isabella of Castile and, with the exception of Navarre, the whole of Spain was to pass under one sceptre.

When Rozmital, the Bohemian nobleman, visited John II in 1466 the King was 'a very short, old man, quite blind, and very poor'. (*Ritter-Hof- und Pilger-Reise*, Lit. Verein in Stuttgart, 1843, p. 189.)

JAMES II OF SCOTLAND, b. 1430; crowned 1437; d. 1460.

LEGEND: *Jacob, by God's grace, King of Scotland.*

James appears as a determined and attractive young man of action. He has black hair. He wears a black felt hat and hose of bright rose pink. The jacket and shoes are black. The girdle also is black with a gold buckle. The sword-case is tipped with gold. The whole of the left side of the face is coloured bright pink, an indication of the disfiguring mark which earned for the King the title 'fiery face'. He stands on a foundation of green and light brown.

This is a very striking portrait of the 'Kynge of Scottys with the Rede Face'. He had an exciting if brief life. After the murder of his father he was kidnapped and removed from his mother, and his minority was marked by a fierce hostility between the Douglases and the Crichtons, civil war lasting until 1446. In 1449 James married Mary of Guelders and undertook the government himself. Three years later he stabbed Douglas with his own hands and had him killed by his attendants, whereupon civil war broke out again. During the Wars of the Roses he showed his sympathy with the Lancastrian party after the defeat of Henry VI at Northampton by attacking the English possessions south of the border, and was killed at the siege of Roxburgh castle in 1460 by the bursting of a cannon. He is buried at Holyrood. The following is from *The Historie of Scotland*, by Jhone Leslie (Scottish Texts Society), 1895, vol. ii, pp. 56-7:

All the tyme of his tender age, trublet with civil weiris; bot how sune he was able to the administratioun of the Realme, he seveirlie executet al quha outher war present rebelis or authoris of that rebellioun: this way throuch his counsel, Industrie and faythulnes of his servandis, he slokned out all occasioun of civil weir, and nyghtbour fead, spunk and spark. Bot the Inglysmen begin in plane battel now to vex him: he flies noct; cumis fordward and feiris noct; stoutlie standes, scharplie persues: In sindrie places and diverse tymes; Insafar that he obteines the name of a strang man of weir for his coragious stoutnes. As amang his enimies he was inuiet [hated] for his fortitude in dantoneng [crushing] thame, sa amang his awne, mervellous weil favorit for his Justice, conteineng thame in thair office. Commounlie in speiking, tha uset to cal him James with the fyrie countenance, becaus of a braid rid spott in his cheik.

Jacob. von. gots.
gen. aien. kung.
von. schottland.



JAMES II OF SCOTLAND

The manner of his death is thus described in 'A short chronicle of the reign of James II King of Scots' (called 'The Auchenleck Chronicle'), in *Ane addicioun of Scottis Corniklis and Deidis*, ed. by T. Thomson, 1819, p. 57:

The yer of God M. cccc. LX, the thrid sonday of August, King James the secund with ane gret oist was at the sege of Roxburgh, and unhappely was slane with ane gun the quhilk brak in the fyring, for the quhilk was gret dolour throu all Scotland. And never the les all the lordis that war thar remanit still with the oist, and on the fryday efter, richt wysly and manfully wan the forsaide castell and tynt [lost] nocht a man may in the wynning of it.

Pinkerton in his *Iconographia*, 1797, gives a bad rendering of the upper portion of this portrait. He says:

This portrait is taken from a painting at Kielberg near Tubingen, Germany, the seat of the von Lytrums. The late learned Sir James Stuart Denham had informed Lord Buchan that he had often seen at M. von Lytrum's a portrait full-length of a Scottish King in a close jacket, the peaks of his shoes fastened to his girdle with chains of gold; that it was in a gallery with portraits of many other princes; that an ancestor of M. von Lytrum, being a great traveller, had visited most courts in Europe, and obtained these pictures of the reigning sovereigns. Lord Buchan in consequence applied to M. Gognel, Chancellor to the Duke of Wirtemberg at Montbeliard for a copy of this piece, which only came to hand half-length, as here, though the remainder would have presented an instance of a singular fashion mentioned by old English writers as beginning in the reign of Richard II, but of which no other specimen is known in painting or miniature.

The family of von Leutrum owned the castle of Kilchberg before the present owners acquired it, but Sir James Steuart Denham must have confused his recollections. The portrait of James II still hangs in the castle, an inferior copy of the portrait reproduced here, but there is no sign of the gold chains.

There is another portrait of James II in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, reproduced in Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, Cambridge, 1911, i, p. 180. It is one of a series ending with James V, and all seem to date from that period, and to be from the same brush. They were acquired by the Edinburgh Gallery in 1909. See Mr. Blaikie Murdoch's article in *The Connoisseur*, vol. 42, p. 68. For other portraits of James II see *The Studio*, vol. 71, p. 92. Ehingen's is the only one known to be contemporary, and the only one which shows the red mark on the face.

APPENDIX

I

The following is from British Museum Additional MS. 14326, being a fragment of the *Reisebeschreibung* of Sebastian Ilsung of Augsburg. Very little is known of the traveller except that he was in Spain some time after 1446, apparently in connexion with ecclesiastical affairs, since he has much to say concerning Spanish prelates. He visited Santiago, Barcelona, Montserrat, Tortosa, Saragossa, and Olite, and our concern with him is that he encountered at Olite a compatriot whom he calls Jorg Deringer. Having regard to the date of his visit there can, I think, be little doubt that Jorg Deringer was Jörg d'Ehingen or von Ehingen. For an account of Ilsung and his travels see Konrad Häbler, *Das Wallfahrtsbuch des Hermannus König von Vach, und die Pilgerreisen der Deutschen nach Santiago de Compostela*, Strassburg, 1899, p. 47, also Farinelli, *Viajes por España y Portugal desde la edad media hasta el siglo xx*, Madrid, 1920, p. 63. There is another MS. at Augsburg. Extracts from the Augsburg MS. were printed in P. von Stettin, *Lebensbeschreibungen*, Augsburg, 1782, pp. 31 ff.; also in Hormayr's *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte*, 1849, p. 225. The British Museum fragment does not appear to have been printed. It is embellished with some amusing drawings in colour, in which Ilsung's golden locks are particularly noticeable. The Queen who was too shy to talk German with Ilsung was Charles of Viana's wife, Anna of Cleves, a niece of Philip the Good of Burgundy. Her husband was then absent from Navarre (see above, p. 60).

Add. MS. 14326.

[f. 2.] Dar nach furt mich der herolt zu der Kingin die war uf der wer vñ daz scholss [sic] von dez guten luft wegeñ da war ain grose taber nackel da stand sÿ vnd ir Junckffrauen vnd stond beÿ ir ain mechtiger graff defos da war ich vor ach beÿ geuessen da kneigt ich vir die Kingin daz sprach der graff sÿ solt teisch mit mir reden aber sÿ schemet sich vnd wolcz nit ton der graff wolt nit ablassen sÿ solt es ton da sprach sÿ stet uffws vnd der graff trib vil kurczwill mit ir vnd er lies mir sagen durch mein tulmecz die Kingin wolt da ich wrlab neme alz gewanhait were in mein land aber es war an dem end ain grose schmach doch wolcz der graff also han vnd wolt der Kingin ain fred vnd kirczwill machen also kneigt ich neider vor die Kingin vnd küsset ir hand alz gewahaid ist vnd gen da zu den Junckffrauen vnd vñfeng sÿ vnd bot in die Hand daz war in gar wider doch wolt die Kingin also habeñ vnd dar nach hub sich an ain groser tantz beÿ der nacht vnd schickett die Kingen nach mir an mein Herberg daz ich keñ da kam alz ain gros weter von regen vnd von wind daz ich nit dar kond kamen es wolt kain licht lasse brenë.

[fo. 2 d.] Dar nach rait ich hein in daz gros Keinrich von Ispania durch vil
guter stet vnd kam da in die habsta genant Burges da erfraglich ain bischoff
da war ich vor 8 Jaren mit im gen bechen geraisset da rait ich zu der war zu
mall fro daz ich zu im kam vnd sagt im da wa ich mit im geraisset vnd as an
seim huoff vnd gab mir kostlich zu essen nach deischem sitten den sein koch
war ain deischer vnd fragt aller mer von den deischeñ firsten der kant er
gar vil den er war zu bassell in dem Kunisejli geuesen vnd frat mich vil von
vnſre bischoff hej zu Augspurg also bat ich sein genad daz er mir furderlich
were in daz feld zu dem Kinig von ispania also sprach er wolt mir wol dar
ein helffen vnd het geren geseehen daz ich lenger bey im wer geuessen da
wolt ich eyraten also leeh er mir ain edelman vnd den deischen koch vnd
kam wider gen burges da fand ich her Jorgē Deringer vnd bracht breff an dez
bischoffs freud die dieten mir gros er vnd her Jorgen ach voñ meinen wegeñ
vnd war alz geschenck was wir da vñzarteñ vnd der bischoff lies mir sageñ was
mir mangel wer es wer gelt oder anderst daz solt ich im sagen es ist kam zu
gelaben was er vnd zuocht mir vnd her Jorgen da geschach ward zu lang.

TRANSLATION

[At Olite] Afterwards the herald conducted me to the Queen, who was on the ramparts round the palace on account of the fresh air. A large tent was there, and there she and her maidens stood, and with her was a powerful Count Defos [de Foix], whom I had already met. I knelt before the Queen, whereupon the Count said she should converse with me in German. But she was shy and would not. But the Count would not abstain from urging her, and she spoke, and the Count joked with her and let me know by my interpreter that the Queen desired I should take leave as was customary in my country. This was a great ignominy, but the Count insisted on it to please and amuse the Queen. Therefore I knelt down before the Queen and kissed her hand as the custom is, and then went to the maidens and embraced them and offered them my hand, which they disliked very much, but this was the Queen's will.

Afterwards there was a great dance in the night, and the Queen sent to my lodging for me to come, but such a storm of wind and rain arose that I could not go; no light could remain burning.

Afterwards I rode on into the great kingdom of Ispania, through many fine cities, and came to the capital called Burgos, where I inquired after a bishop with whom eight years before I had journeyed to Bohemia. I called upon him and he was very pleased that I had come to him, and I told him that I had travelled with him. I dined at his house and he gave me delicious food prepared in the German manner, for his cook was a German. He inquired after the German princes, of whom he knew many, for he had been in the Chancery at Basle, and asked me many questions about our Bishop at home at Augsburg. I begged his favour that he would speak for me to the King of Spain

to go to the wars, which he promised. He would have liked me to remain longer with him there, but I wished to go on, so he lent me a nobleman and the German cook and I returned to Burgos. There I found Master Jorgen Deringer [Ehingen]. I delivered the letters to the Bishop's friends, who treated me very honourably and Master Jorgen too, on my account, and gave us our food as a gift. The Bishop let me know that whatever I needed, were it money or anything else, I was to tell him. It is almost incredible what he did for me and Master Jorgen, and to tell it would take too long.

II

The following documents are from Martin Crusius, *Annales Suevici*, Frankfurt, 1596, vol. ii, bk. 7, p. 3, chapter vi, p. 430. I have left the extracts for the most part as they stand, correcting only a few obvious errors.

(a)

Privilegium Regis Castellae, Georgio Ehingeno, equiti & posteris eius, datum, Insignia supradicta gestandi in vestitu.

Nos el Rey de Castilla y de Leon, quiriendo honrar & noblessar la persona & estado de vos Iorge d'Ehingen, cauallero de la casa del magnifico & inclito Duci Alberto, Hermanno del Emperador de Alemania; por la presente vos damos lycentia & facultad: para que vos & vuestra muger podays traher, & trayades, en vuestras ropa & guarniciones, la nuestra devisa, & la Vanda & el colar del escama: segund que lo trahen, & acostumbran traher, los caualleros, & varones gentiles, &c. Data en la noble cibdad de Iaen, cinco dias de setiembre, anno de cinquanta & siete.

(b)

Commendatitiae Regis Portugall. Alphonsi, ad Ducissam Bergae & Brabantiae, pro Georgio Ehingeno.

A la muyto honrrada iffante, dona Isabel, duquesa de Bergonha & de Barbante, &c. minha muyto prezada & amada ty.

Muyto honrrada ty, nos dom Afonso per gratia de Dios Rey de Portugal, e de Algarue, & Sennor de Cepta, vus enuiamus muyto saudar como aquella, que muyto precamus, & amamus. O tempo, que em nossa cuorte andaron Iorge de Ehingen, e Iorge de Ransidera, caualleiros Alemannes, Camareiros de Duci Alberto Irmanno do Emperador: vsaron tam boos custumes, teneron em seu viuor tal temperanca, assessego & graça em seu conuersar, que delles fuamos muyto contentes. E mentres em Cepta steueron assy quando veo el Rey de Fetz mostraram tam grād esforço, como antes e despoys fezerom tales obras, que merecedores nus parecerom que sua virtude vos notificassemus, & encommendassemus per nossas cartas. E porem vus rogamus: que em todo, o que por elles poderdes, os aiaes em vossa spicial encomenda, dando todo fauor & aiuda em o que por sua honrra & acrecentamento de vos lhes for necessario. Scripta en Leyrea, a 15 de Março, anno 1458.

TRANSLATION

(a)

We, King of Castile and Leon, wishing to honour and ennable the person and estate of you Jorge d'Ehingen, gentleman of the household of the magnificent and illustrious Duke Albert, brother of the Emperor of Germany, by this present grant licence and privilege to you and to your wife that you may be entitled to wear and shall wear upon your clothing and trappings, our device and the Band and Collar of the Escama as it is worn and is wont to be worn by the knights and nobles, &c. Given in the noble City of Jaen, the fifth day of September of the year fifty-seven.

(b)

To the most honoured Infanta, Doña Isabel, Duchess of Burgundy and Brabant, &c., my most esteemed and beloved aunt.

Most honoured Aunt. We, Alfonso, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and the Algarve, and Lord of Ceuta, send you good greeting as to her whom we greatly esteem and love. In that time when Jorge de Ehingen and Jorge de Ransidera, German knights, gentlemen of the chamber of Duke Albert, brother of the Emperor, were at our Court, they showed such good breeding, were so temperate in their way of life and so peaceable and gracious in their conversation that we were much pleased with them. And while they were at Ceuta, at the coming of the King of Fez, they showed such valour, and as well before as after, they did such deeds that we think them worthy that we should make their virtues known to you and commend them to you by our letters. Therefore we beg you that in all things you can do for them you will have them in your special care, giving them favour and help in all things which their honour and advancement may require of you. Written at Leyrea, the 15th of March of the year 1458.

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